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Fighting fascism and racism internationally

Searchlight

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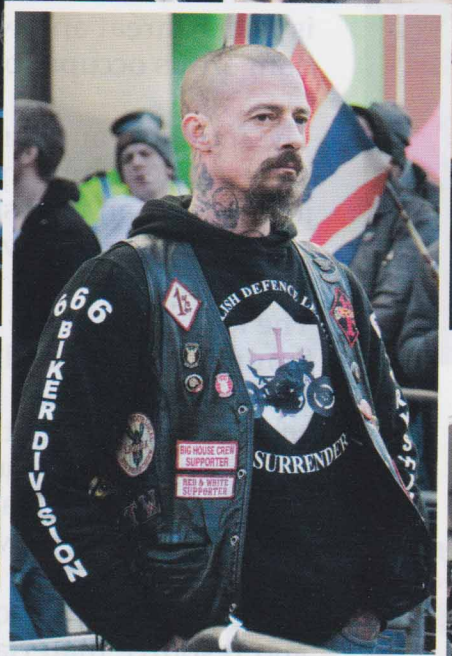
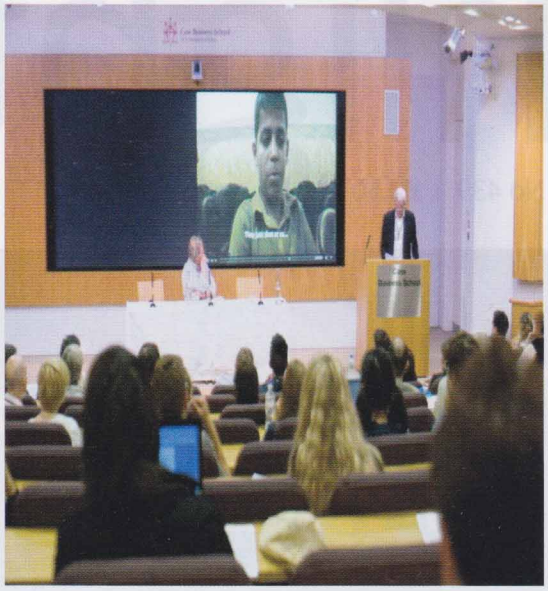
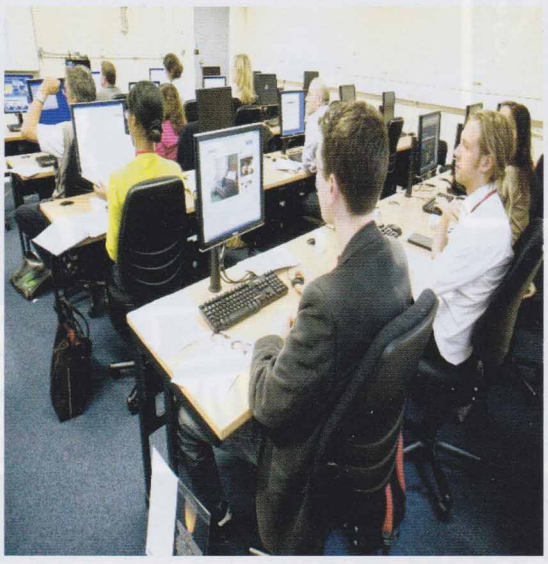
An army of EDL thugs coming to a town near you in 2012



Military infiltration, and attacks on mosques, shops and trade union meetings escalate





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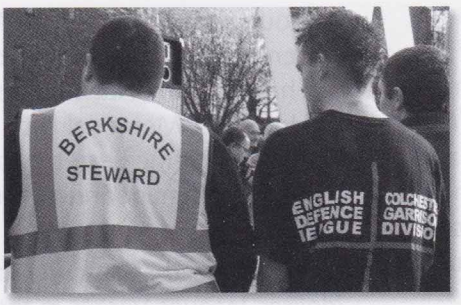

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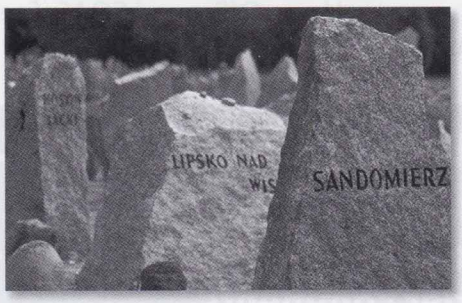

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Editorial

PAYING LIP SERVICE TO THE HOLOCAUST

By Gerry Gable

SUCCESSIVE BRITISH GOVERNMENTS have done more than pay lip service to remembering the Holocaust, as well as the later genocides in Rwanda and the Balkans. Bodies such as the Holocaust Memorial Trust and Anne Frank Foundation have carried out tremendous work also in educating new generations of young people.

But government needs to go further than giving vocal and financial support to this important work; it also needs to legislate to curb the international activities of the thoroughly discredited far-right-orchestrated Holocaust denial industry.

Last month with the support of the *Jewish Chronicle*, Holocaust Memorial Trust, London *Evening Standard*, MPs, Members of the House of Lords, and academics such as Professor Colin Shindler from London University's School of Oriental and African Studies, *Searchlight* called on the Home Secretary to ban the entry to Britain of the so-called Devil's Advocate Jacques Vergès, who is due to speak at SOAS on 3 February.

The college appears to have washed its hands of responsibility for the actions of the postdoctoral student who, it is claimed, acted alone in organising this event, despite its potential for giving the far right a huge moral and political boost.

The hardline nazi IONA London Forum, meeting in London on 21 January, called on its supporters to turn up at SOAS to publicly support this disgusting man.

The Home Secretary remains silent, despite all the evidence that shows Vergès's presence in the UK is not conducive to the public good.

Enough of this hypocrisy. As we remember the millions who died at the hands of the Nazis in the week of Holocaust Memorial Day, we expect the Home Secretary to make a public statement announcing a ban.

You can read about why the far right idolises Jacques Vergès in the December issue of *Searchlight* or on www.searchlightmagazine.com. And it is not too late to send protests to the Home Office and SOAS. See page 34 for details.

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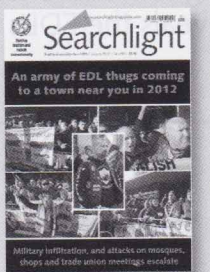

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The New Right – 'the metapolitics of influence'

Pretentious racist and antisemitic talking shop or an ambitious attempt to reshape the future of the extreme right in the UK? Adam Carter examines the New Right.

THE NEW RIGHT was established in the UK in 2004 at the instigation of Troy Southgate and Jonathan Bowden, both long term activists on the fringes of the far right (see separate biographies) with a long track record of attempting to influence the direction of right-wing extremism in the UK through meetings, propaganda and cultural activities. Bowden is the current chairman and Southgate the organising secretary.

Meetings

The New Right's inaugural meeting was held in January 2005 and since then it has held over 30 meetings which have become arguably the most important regular gathering of antisemites and racists in the UK. They are held bimonthly in various pubs in central London and are attended by anywhere between 25 and 100 people drawn from a wide variety of extreme-right organisations and perspectives including the British National Party (BNP), England First Party, National Anarchist Movement, National Front, Steven Books and others.

Each meeting will consist of three or four guest speakers talking about either the usual extreme-right obsessions – race, Jews, immigration, Holocaust denial etc – or a range of cultural ideologues who are claimed by the New Right as intellectual antecedents and influences (see separate box). There is also ample opportunity for participants to purchase the latest extreme-right books and pamphlets at the numerous book stalls.

The meetings have attracted international participants and speakers, including activists from Norway, Germany, Croatia, Russia, Finland, Malta, USA and Australia among others. Many of the speeches are filmed and posted on YouTube.

Speakers

Some of the speakers, as has regularly revealed, have included prominent figures on the extreme right including:

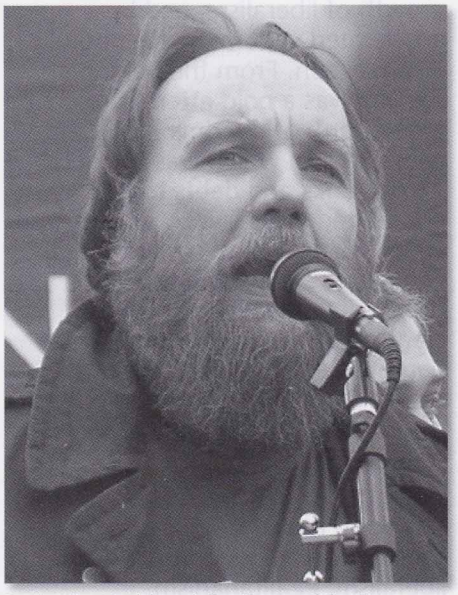
- Günter Deckert, a leading German neo-nazi and convicted Holocaust denier
- former NF leader Martin Webster
- discredited Holocaust denier David Irving;
- Norman Lowell, a Malta-based extremist with a conviction for racial-hatred
- Lady Michèle Renouf, a notorious antisemite and consort of Holocaust deniers
- Dr Tomislav Sunic, Croatian-based leader of the white nationalist American Third Position
- Adrian Davies, a barrister who has defended several extreme-right activists
- Russian fascist Aleksandr Dugin
- Finnish fascist activist Kai Murros.

Ideology

The New Right describes itself in its own publication *New Imperium* (edited by Troy Southgate) as "metapolitical beyond movements and organisations". It regards itself as above politics and is avowedly *not* a political party as such. It functions more as a gathering point for right-wing extremists and a clearing house for the exchange of ideas, literature, ideological innovation and tactics. Its aims are to "have an influence on the cultural and philosophical spheres" and it declares that it is "elitist and anti-democratic", is "opposed to mass societies and plebeian dictatorship", "stands for a Pan-Europe against American hegemony" and "rejects egalitarianism and political correctness".

Influence of the Nouvelle Droite

There is very little that is new in all this. The UK New Right's political positions and its strategy of trying to influence the extreme right culturally and philosophically are inspired directly by the French New Right, *Nouvelle Droite* (ND). The ND is a cultural and philosophical movement founded in 1968 by a group of French fascist intellectuals and since led by Alain de Benoist. It arranged conferences and meetings, published a regular journal and



Russian fascist Aleksandr Dugin, one of the New Right's speakers

disseminated its ideas through a number of think tanks, the most important of which is *Groupement de Recherche et d'Études pour la Civilisation Européenne* (GRECE) – Research and Study Group for European Civilisation.

Following the success of the French group, similar New Right organisations, think tanks and publications have been established in other European countries including Spain, Italy, Belgium and the UK as well as becoming increasingly influential in Eastern Europe.

The ND sees itself as involved in a desperate mission to save European civilisation from the "evils" of multiculturalism, liberalism and equality. Its tactics for achieving its aims are primarily ideological. Influenced by the Italian Communist intellectual Antonio Gramsci, the ND believes that it is engaged in a "war of position" – an ideological and cultural conflict with the dominant (hegemonic) views prevalent in Western society. Only by first winning the battle of ideas can real political power be obtained.

Rebranding fascism

The ND started as an attempt to rethink the legacy and traditions of the extreme right in the face of widespread popular revulsion towards historical fascism and Nazism as well as the challenges posed by the new left and the growth of liberalism, and by accelerated cultural and economic globalisation. From the beginning the ND was a bold attempt to create a new form of discriminatory and elitist fascism which was shorn of explicit links and debts to the discredited models of Mussolini and Hitler. As the noted scholar Roger Griffin has stated, the ND was responsible for "the deliberate creation of a new discourse which perpetuated core elements of the fascist world view while radically dissociating them from the horrors of World War II".

Central to this new discourse is an attack on the core principles of Western democracy, in particular liberalism, egalitarianism, multiculturalism and human rights, as well as a critique of what the ND perceives as the "spiritual decadence" caused by consumerism, materialism and globalisation (for which the USA is often blamed). These arguments drew on a range of intellectual traditions (including some from the left) from France, Germany and Italy that rejected liberal democracy and claimed to synthesise these in a new paradigm that was a revolutionary nationalist "third way" beyond left and right.

Michèle Renouf, antisemite and political associate of Iranian President Ahmadinejad and the Holocaust-denying writer David Irving

The ND also espoused a dislike of Christianity which is seen – following the radical philosopher Nietzsche – as weak and promoting a tepid egalitarianism. Many of the ND theorists argue instead for the return of a mythical paganism which could unify the organic community. The ND also contends that aggression, inequality and hierarchy are "natural" to human beings and so has a distinct hatred of contemporary European societies which are multicultural, multiracial and operate within a system of electoral democracy.

The ideal society envisaged by the ND would reject all this entirely and be composed of ethnically homogeneous communities which were racially pure and where the inhabitants of these territories had a supposedly mystical "natural" connection to those of the same ethnic background.

This vision of ethno-nationalist and regional racial purity claims not to be racist (it doesn't argue like the Nazis for the presumed biological superiority of the white race for example) but argues that different groups are "culturally incompatible" and often uses the language (borrowed from environmentalism) of "biodiversity". This is just intellectual sophistry and a way to justify discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity.

Comparing the UK New Right

So how does the UK New Right compare to its European influences and what chances does it have of achieving genuine influence? The European New Right ideologues have had some notable successes. In particular their attempts to introduce a new discourse to the discussion about race through their arguments about the supposed cultural incompatibility of certain races and religions are now commonplace especially among anti-Muslim activists (even in the UK). Their ideas have also been directly incorporated into the thinking and propaganda of some large and electorally successful far-right parties including the Front National in France and the Freedom Party in Austria.

As stated above, the UK New Right meetings have attracted some high-profile speakers but most of them have been foreigners (ironically), which is an indication of the dearth of genuine intellectuals on the UK extreme-right scene, especially when compared to France and Italy. There has been relatively little significant sign so far of the rest of the extreme right in the UK (or the Conservative Party) taking on board the more sophisticated messages of the New Right.

There are a number of different reasons for this. Firstly the UK is generally anti-intellectual – and the extreme right even more so – so many of the more complex ideas are falling on deaf (if not downright hostile) ears.

Secondly there are obviously tensions between the radical ideas of Southgate et al and the traditional fascists who often make up the New Right meetings (many of whom seem to embody the worst extremes of antisemitism and Holocaust denial). Whether these ideas could permeate into the broader far right outside the small cliques who attend the meetings is debatable, especially as Southgate already attracts a lot of online opprobrium from other fascists.

In a posting on the Yahoo newsgroup Against the System Southgate is critical of many of the people who attend his own New Right meetings. He states: "The New Right has nothing whatsoever to do with National-Anarchism, it's a metapolitical group and at meetings I find myself surrounded by unsympathetic Right-wing types from all the usual groups but that doesn't mean I've gone over to the dark side. They regard me as Left-wing, actually, or perhaps a bit of an enigma, and know fully well what I think of their parliamentary/ reactionary politics."

Thirdly the tensions within the UK New Right are also religious. Southgate is a practising pagan while several in the New Right orbit are known to be close to the ultra-reactionary Catholicism of Bishop Richard Williamson, and these differences are thought to be a contributory factor to the split with Jez Bedford-Turner who has recreated the IONA group as a rival to the New Right.

Finally, there seem to be organisational issues plaguing the New Right. Their website does not appear to be functioning currently, for example. In addition Southgate and many involved with the New Right are paranoid about security and fear exposure – understandably so as *Searchlight* has regularly reported from inside the meetings and attendees have blabbed details online. The latest issue (no 9) of *New Imperium* features a full page security alert but with a disputatious split and *Searchlight* on their case, how long will the New Right be able to carry on unhindered?

Pantheon of the New Right

The New Right borrows freely from the left and the right in an attempt to find intellectual justification for its discrimination. Some of its heroes include:

Julius Evola (1898-1974) Italian reactionary philosopher whose influential writings on racism, fascism, esotericism and traditionalism are much admired

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) Italian Communist Party member and theorist who argued that culture was central to changing the dominant political ideology

Ernst Jünger (1895-1998) German "conservative revolutionary" and nationalist writer who glorified militarism and sacrifice

Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) German philosopher and critic of modernity who introduced concepts such as the "will-to-power" and the "superman" that were appropriated by the Nazis

Ezra Pound (1885-1972) American modernist poet who was imprisoned for actively broadcasting antisemitic propaganda on behalf of the fascists during the Second World War

Carl Schmitt (1888-1975) German Conservative political theorist and Nazi collaborator known for his critique of parliamentary democracy

Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) German historian whose book *Decline of the West* has proved influential because of its cultural pessimism

Francis Parker Yockey (1917-1960) American fascist activist and antisemite whose book Imperium brought anti-Americanism into the orbit of the far-right.

Troy Southgate – a timeline

Troy Southgate's political peregrinations can be difficult to follow. Here we provide a simplified chronology.

1965 Born in Crystal Palace, south London, although his family soon moves to Crowborough, East Sussex.

1984 Joins the National Front (NF) while playing in several Oi! bands such as the Distortions and the Banana Skins.

1987 Joins the ultra-conservative and antisemitic Catholic sect, the Society of St Pius X.

1987 Imprisoned in Lewes following an alleged assault and listed as a political prisoner in *NF News*, which also publishes a turgid poem by him.

1989 Takes over the NF in Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

1990 Leaves the NF to join its splinter group the International Third Position (ITP), which combines elements of fascism with antisemitism and extremist Catholicism. He becomes the ITP's Kent organiser and edits several of their publications.

New Right organising secretary and publication editor Troy Southgate

1992 Leaves the ITP and sets up the English Nationalist Movement (ENM), whose small membership (less than 50) is based mainly in Kent and Yorkshire. Establishes Rising Press to republish work from the NF's magazine *Rising* as well as by leading fascist ideologues.

1993 Establishes the Liaison Committee for Revolutionary Nationalism (LCRN) to reach out to like-minded occult-fascist groups in New Zealand, Canada and the USA. Southgate still uses LCRN on his PO Box.

1995-7 Studies for a degree in history with theology and religious studies at University of Kent at Canterbury while still involved with the ENM. He also contributes to other New Right and racist and antisemitic publications such as the influential (now defunct) *Scorpion* magazine.

Mid-1990s The magazine *Alternative Green* (which had split from *Green Anarchist* and advocated a form of community-based fascist environmentalism) influences Southgate's political development in the direction of anarchism. For a short while Southgate replaces Richard Hunt as the editor of the magazine.

1997 Southgate tries unsuccessfully to disrupt a meeting where *Searchlight* editor Gerry Gable is speaking in London.

1998 Southgate dissolves the ENM and establishes the National Revolutionary Faction (NRF) publishing several issues of its journal *Catalyst*, which advocates an elitist cadre of dedicated racist revolutionary cells to establish white homelands and plots to overthrow the state. Its numbers are probably tiny.

1998 Southgate's former comrades in the ITP issue a booklet *Satanism and its Allies* which accuses him of embracing Satanism and conspiring against them.

2000-1 Southgate helps to establish *Synthesis*, a webzine, part of a Le Cercle de la Rose Noire forum which features articles on a variety of new right, racist, counter-cultural and occult themes. He declares himself to be a National Anarchist. The *Sunday Telegraph* alleges that members of the NRF are involved in animal rights protests at this time as part of a strategy of entryism into the broader environmental movement. But his attempts to attract other fringe groups to his cause are rejected when his "Anarchist Heretics Fairs" are stopped by genuine anarchists, anti-fascists and green activists. However in a series of interviews he successfully connects with "National Bolshevik" (combining elements of communism with fascism) groups in Russia. He has remained an influential figure within some Russian and Eastern European fringe far-right circles.

2003 Southgate disbands the NRF and concentrates on writing and propaganda on the internet using the (now defunct) Rose Noire and Terra Firma websites as well as various newsgroups including yahoo's attackthesystem and synthesis.

2004 The "New Right" is founded by Southgate in imitation of the European New Right to bring together a range of nationalists, racists, fascists and occultists. It begins a programme of occasional (eventually bi-monthly meetings) in pubs in London with the inaugural meeting in January 2005 and in time publishes its own magazine *New Imperium*.

2005 The inaugural meeting of the New Right in a pub in London in January.

2005 Joins HERR, a "neo-classical" music group, and releases several albums with them, and is also involved with many others in the so-called "neo-folk" and electronic music scene.

2007 New Right meeting at the Cross Keys pub in the City of London includes the antisemite and Holocaust denier Lady Michèle Renouf.

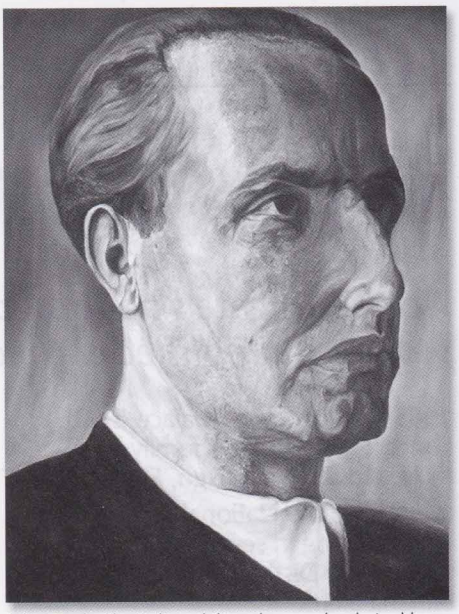
2010 His first novel *Hitler: The Adjournment* is published by Iron Sky Publishing. (A reviewer on Amazon gives it one star and says that the only positive is that the book is short.)

2010 The 29th meeting of the New Right takes place in London in October and is addressed by Martin Webster, former NF organiser, who gives an antisemitic speech.

2010 Establishes his own publishing company Black Front Press, which publishes Southgate's own writings, a National Anarchism reader, as well as books on leading Nazis (Otto Strasser), right-wing ideologues (Ezra Pound, Nietzsche, Julius Evola) and pagan and occult themes (Aleister Crowley, Woden). He also contributes to a variety of occult publications including *Helios*.

2010 Publishes the racist and antisemitic National Anarchist Movement manifesto online.

2011 The New Right meetings continue but an apparent split occurs after disagreements with Jeremy Bedford-Turner and the London IONA forum is created.


Julius Evola, the Italian philosopher much admired by the New Right

Jonathan Bowden – the cultured thug

By Adam Carter

JONATHAN BOWDEN was born in 1962 and has a long trajectory as a cultural ideologue on the political extreme right. In the 1980s he was involved in the hardline Federation of Conservative Students and became a deputy chairman of the extreme anti-communist Western Goals Institute towards the end of the decade. He was also a member of the Monday Club, the now defunct pressure group on the far right of the Tory Party which was eventually prohibited by Conservative head office in 2001 because of its explicit racism.

In 1992 Bowden was expelled from the Monday Club and the following year he created the Revolutionary Conservative Caucus (RCC), another think tank which sought to inject fascist and elitist ideas into the Conservative Party through its publications and meetings. The RCC was relatively short-lived but it laid the intellectual and social groundwork for the magazine *Right Now!* which lasted until 2006 and became the most important racist voice on the fringes of the Conservative Party.

Bowden was then one of the main driving forces behind the Bloomsbury Forum, which was established in 1996 and drew support from the fringes of the Conservative Party and members of the BNP and other fascist groups. The Bloomsbury Forum attracted some high-profile speakers to its meetings, including the former French National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen, and published a number of books and pamphlets that attempted to redraw the intellectual landscape of the UK extreme right. Bowden was to try similar things with the European Books Society and later the Spinning Top Club (which publishes much of his own work). He later commented in an interview of his activities with these ginger groups: "As to accomplishments or achievements … well, they were really twofold: first, the mixing together of ultra-conservative and neo-fascist ideas; second, a belief in the importance of metapolitics or cultural struggle."

Back in the real world of politics, Bowden joined the British National Party splinter group, the Freedom Party when it launched in 2001, eventually becoming its treasurer, but left to join the BNP as its cultural officer in 2003, in which capacity he addressed a number of BNP meetings. In July 2007 Bowden resigned from the BNP after backing Chris Jackson in his failed leadership election against Nick Griffin. He was viciously attacked on a blog by Tommy Williams, a friend of Griffin, and declared in his resignation letter: "I am sick and tired of the human scum and vermin which proliferate in such shallow waters".

Bowden addressed the first New Right meeting in January 2005 and has been its chairman since then. He is also an artist and, like Southgate, a prolific writer (he claims to have published over 50 books). Despite his evident intellectual talents and pretensions, one only has to watch the footage of him (available on his own website) addressing the Tameside BNP to see the crude racist oratory and hatred that lies beneath the sophisticated sheen and verbose veneer. As he himself says, "Truthfully, in this age those with intellect have no courage and those with some modicum of physical courage have no intellect. If things are to alter during the next fifty years then we must re-embrace Byron's ideal: the cultured thug."

Jonathan Bowden, New Right chairman

Right Now! featured contributions from a range of Conservative opinion including the editor of the *Daily Telegraph* at the time, Conservative MPs such as Norman Tebbit and Ann Widdecombe, academics propounding scientific racism such as Dr Richard Lynn and outright fascists such as Griffin and Le Pen.

National Anarchism – fascism dressed up as leftism

Troy Southgate is a self-styled "National Anarchist" but what is National Anarchism and what dangers does it pose?

By Adam Carter

NATIONAL ANARCHISM has been described as an attempt to "rebrand fascism" . It is the latest incarnation of Troy Southgate's chequered career on the fringes of the extreme right (see timeline on pages 7-8 for more details). He first started to popularise the term in the late 1990s while still running the National Revolutionary Faction (NRF). Influenced by the magazine *Alternative Green* (a radical environmental publication originally edited by Richard Hunt that ended up opening its doors to the far right) Southgate eventually disbanded the NRF and created National Anarchism originally as a "tendency" which was mainly just an online presence.

Over time however, through propagandising and online networking, the term has gained more currency and popularity and there are now groups identifying themselves as National Anarchists in Spain, USA, Australia, Germany, Scandinavia, Portugal and Russia as well as in the UK. In recent years National Anarchists have taken part in anti-globalisation demonstrations in Australia (in 2007), protested against Chinese oppression in Tibet (2008) in the US and Australia, and supported the Koran-burning Islamophobic bigot Pastor Terry Jones in the USA (2011). Their numbers are currently small and they have been largely shunned and actively opposed by the mainstream anarchist movement which is justifiably proud of its own anti-fascist history. However National Anarchism like the New Right (and there is a considerable overlap of ideas and activists between the two) does represent a potentially dangerous vehicle for the entry of radical right ideas into a radical left milieu and it is important therefore that all anti-racists and anti-fascists are aware of what National Anarchism stands for and the need to oppose it.

Ideology

National Anarchism is a syncretic ideology which combines elements of left-wing anarchist thinking such as anti-statism, anti-capitalism, autonomy and libertarianism with ideas from the extreme right such as racial separatism, mystical tribalism and secessionism. The resulting fusion is similar to the ideology of the New Right and fascist third positionism in that it places race and ethnic identity at the heart of a radical politics which claims to transcend the division between left and right.

Centrality of race

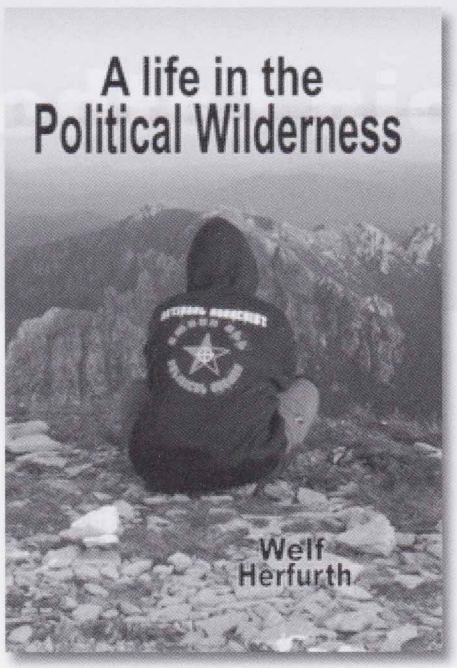
The main aim of National Anarchism is the establishment of small mono-racial (i.e. white) organic communities ideally based in rural villages. In this vision of pastoral apartheid, communities would be autonomous and racially separatist. This is absolutely central to their core beliefs and despite the attempts at intellectual sophistication is often expressed in the crudest terms. According to the National Anarchist manifesto posted online by Troy Southgate in 2010, "Race defines who we are, it provides us with an identity and exists for a damn good reason. Without maintaining this essential diversity, something you can find throughout nature, the world will become increasingly drab, standardised and monotonous and the only people left on the planet will inevitably form part of a coffee-coloured mush of uniform humanity. National-Anarchists wish to preserve the different races of the earth and believe that multi-racialism ends with the dissolution of all races. Racial separatism is the only way that the organic balance can be restored."

Similarly, Andrew Yeoman of the Bay Area National Anarchist group in California (the largest in the US) states that "We are racial separatists for a number of reasons, such as our desire to maintain our cultural continuity, the principle of voluntary association, and as a self-defensive measure to protect each other from being victimized by crime from other races." Of course this emphasis on race is not shared by any of the main anarchist groups or thinkers who are all avowedly anti-racist and anti-fascist.

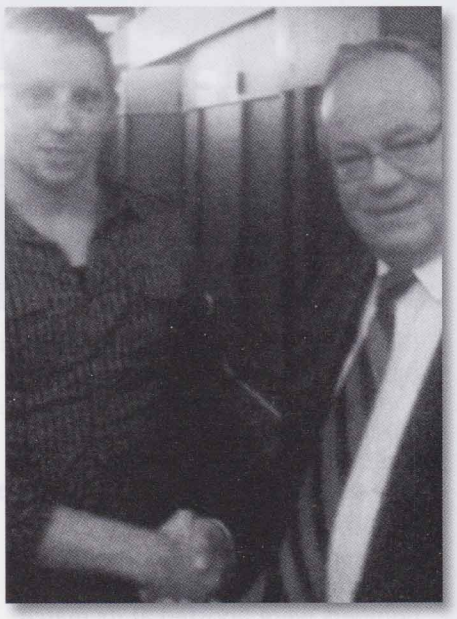
Antisemitism

This strong advocacy of racial separatism is also often aligned with a vicious antisemitism. The opening page of the National Anarchist manifesto reiterates the usual antisemitic conspiracy theories about a cabal of Jews controlling the world: "An elite coterie of Jews and their allies have effectively manipulated world events for their own interests. This was achieved, not simply through usury, but also as a result of Jewish involvement in the bootlegging and criminal racketeering of 1930s America, something which eventually went on to finance the Zionist takeover of the Hollywood film industry and, by 1948, brought about the establishment of the bandit-state of Israel." It then proceeds into Holocaust denial by referring to the 'Holocaust' in inverted commas, all the while dressing this up under the familiar flag of "anti-Zionism". Southgate himself has a long pedigree of supporting and consorting with antisemites who advocate Holocaust denial.

The rest of the manifesto is a mishmash of familiar New Right themes – the perils of globalisation, liberalism and democracy mixed with anti-Americanism and a survivalist-tinged view of Western civilisation on the apparent verge of imminent collapse. There are some nods to alternative lifestyle politics in education and economics and a smattering of leftist rhetoric in discussions of the environment and third world independence movements.



Welf Herfurth, who admits in his book to adopting left-anarchist poses to win support



National Anarchist Andrew Yeoman, aka Andrew White, shakes hands with the Canadian Holocaust denier Paul Fromm

Tactics – changing style not substance

It is abundantly clear though that the main inspiration for, and philosophical lineage of, National Anarchism comes from variants of fascism or the new right. Given this, one has to wonder why they are self-styled national *anarchists* rather than, as one astute commentator put it "communitarian racists"? One can only surmise the National Anarchists hope that by adopting the *appearance* of the radical left with its appropriation of leftist symbols, style and some of the rhetoric, they will have some success in recruiting left-leaning individuals to their cause.

Many of these same themes are discussed in a recently published essay collection by Welf Herfurth *A Life in the Political Wilderness*. Herfurth was born in Germany in 1962 and was a long-term activist in the explicitly neo-nazi NPD in Germany. He then moved to Australia and became involved with the racist One Nation Party before converting to National Anarchism. He runs a New Right/National Anarchist grouping in Australia and is very close to Southgate who writes a fawning introduction to the book. In one of the essays Herfurth explicitly addresses the cynical attempt by National Anarchists to adopt anarchist poses. He writes: "What I am advocating here is that we place those 'socialist', anti-globalist and anti-capitalist elements to the forefront of our doctrine, and that we repackage certain parts of our image as it is conveyed in our visual propaganda (posters, symbols, leaflets, banners etc.) and our slogans to get that across. By doing that, we will appeal to a wider cross-section of the politically thinking, conscious community which is left-leaning anti-globalist and anti-capitalist ...The underdog and rebel status can easily be appropriated for Nationalism, and for the most part it is a question of adopting the left's symbolism and imagery ... We have to become more left wing in appearance. To achieve this we merely have to change the form, not the content." Later in the same essay he discusses how to dress up antisemitic propaganda attacking Jews by presenting them instead as attacks on Israeli policy.

Entryism

As well as the adoption of left-wing style and language, the National Anarchists also advocate subverting existing organisations and institutions to their cause. One of the ways to achieve this is through the tactic of "entryism" and there is a long section on the website devoted to this. Entryism is defined as "the process of entering or infiltrating bona fide organisations, institutions and political parties with the intention of either gaining control of them for our own ends, misdirecting or disrupting them for our own purposes or converting sections of their memberships to our cause." Of course UK readers will associate this idea more with the radical left as it was a favoured tactic of the Militant Tendency within the Labour Party, for example, but Southgate is keen to adapt this for right-wing purposes as it allows National Anarchists access to committed activists who could be converted to the cause and resources which can be appropriated for their own ends.

Opposition

As well as the attempts to appeal to those on the left, the National Anarchists have also shown their true colours by trying to recruit from the fascist and neo-nazi right. There are regular postings by them on Stormfront, the world's most active and influential white supremacist forum, and Southgate has boasted of his desire to convert BNP activists to the cause, but many extreme-right activists have little time for the left-wing rhetoric of National Anarchists. So far, these attempts to woo the right have been only marginally more successful than those to recruit activists from the left. There are some pockets of support such as the Attack the System website in the United States (which also posts material by Jonathan Bowden on the New Right). However as mentioned above, despite the growth in National Anarchism, there has also been a strong backlash against the movement from mainstream anarchism which has confronted them both physically and ideologically. As long as activists in the anarchist movement and in anti-globalisation, environmental and other progressive networks remain vigilant and are aware of the true nature of National Anarchism as a reworking of fascist ideology, then there is every chance that their growth can be curtailed.

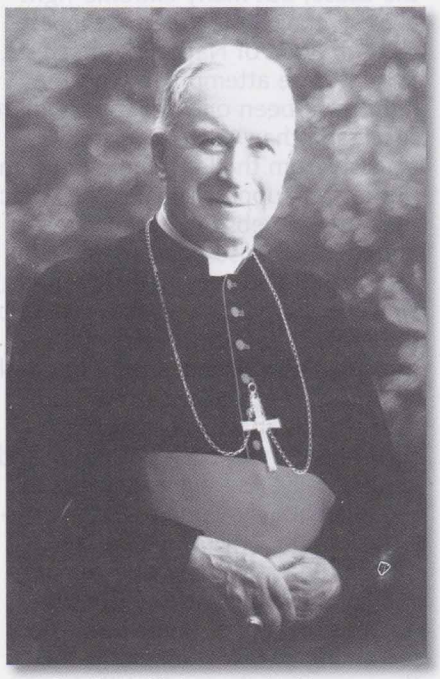
Fascists join Catholic traditio

By Sonia Gable

REMEMBRANCE SUNDAY in London has for decades been desecrated by various British nazis turning up to parade through the streets of the capital: an infamous insult to those who gave their lives to defeat fascism seventy years ago.

As reported in December's *Searchlight*, the National Front's numbers were boosted at its march to the Cenotaph last year with new recruits such as Richard Edmonds, a former second-in-command in the British National Party, taking part for the first time since the NF split in 1980 and marching alongside some of the most violent survivors of the Combat 18 factions from the 1990s.

But away from the cameras the same weekend saw further connections being built among the elite of British fascism, where far-right Catholics associated with the Society of St Pius X are increasingly active. This Society was founded in Switzerland in 1970 by the French Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre and brought together clerics who opposed the reforms of the Second Vatican Council in 1965.



SSPX founder Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre

While some of these "Vatican II" reforms were not obviously political, among its ultra-conservative opponents there have always been a substantial number of antisemites – Catholics who see modernity as the fruit of a sinister conspiracy involving Jews and Freemasons.

Although Hitler's Third Reich included many pagan occultists among its leaders, its allies across Europe (including most of the footsoldiers who carried out the Holocaust) were inspired by one or other variety of Christian antisemitic tradition. Even now the main criticism of Hitler's Nazis from some Catholic traditionalists is that they were secret allies of a Jewish conspiracy!

Links between the SSPX and fascism have been particularly apparent in France, where Lefebvrists have appeared regularly with Jean-Marie Le Pen's Front National. In May 1989 the fugitive nazi collaborator Paul Touvier was discovered hiding at the SSPX priory in Nice, where he was sheltered with the full knowledge of the Society's leaders. Touvier had been head of intelligence for a unit of the collaborationist Milice, working directly under Klaus Barbie, the "Butcher of Lyon". He became the first Frenchman convicted for crimes against humanity under the Vichy regime, and was sentenced to life imprisonment after a trial where he was accompanied throughout by an SSPX priest.

Archbishop Lefebvre was excommunicated in 1988 for ordaining four SSPX priests as bishops without the Vatican's authority. The new bishops were also cast out by Rome. They included the English priest and former school teacher Richard Williamson.

On the evening of Remembrance Sunday 2011 a weekend conference opened in north London at the SSPX Church of Saints Joseph and Padarn. It was the fourth in a series of annual events under the title "Bringing Christ to Our Neighbour: Fortifying our Future through the Faith of our Past".

Fearing press attention the organisers disguised the identity of the "guest speaker" on the Sunday afternoon, whose theme was to be "Church and State". It was none other than the notorious Bishop Williamson, who was thrown out of Argentina for his Holocaust denial and other antisemitic activity in February 2009. In April 2010 Bishop Williamson was convicted in Germany of inciting racial hatred through his Holocaust denial statements in a television interview broadcast the previous year. The Society suffered further embarrassment when Bishop Williamson hired Wolfram Nahrath, the former head of the banned nazi group Wiking Jugend (Viking Youth), as his German lawyer.

Another speaker at the north London conference, Alex Kennedy, had attended a memorial dinner for Sir Oswald Mosley during the same weekend, as had several of the audience. SSPX supporters have regularly turned up at meetings of the New Right in London. Jeremy Bedford-Turner – the leader of one of the two New Right factions that split last summer – has cultivated particularly close links with the Society, even though other New Right figures have long been involved with occultism.

All this reminds some veteran nazi-watchers of the late 1980s, when the "political soldier" wing of the NF split into Catholic and pagan factions. The Catholics became the "International Third Position", controlled by the Italian fascist exiles Roberto Fiore and Massimo Morsello and very close to the SSPX. The former leading NF activists Derek Holland and Michael Fishwick are still active in SSPX circles.

Some SSPX members are concerned at these political links, especially as Bishop Williamson associates with

nalists at London conference

non-Catholics in the Holocaust denial movement, such as David Irving and Michèle Renouf. Among these critics is Blaise Compton, a well known composer and musicologist who attended the north London conference and whose father was a prominent Catholic journalist. Compton shares the fears of the SSPX leadership that a media spotlight on blatant antisemitism will scupper any chance of reuniting with Rome.

After the SSPX promoted a convicted antisemite speaking on Remembrance Sunday about the relationship between Catholicism and politics, one might think the organisation would be shunned by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. But for the past three or four years a complicated factional game has played out between the Vatican and the leaders of SSPX and other ultra-conservative rebels against papal authority.

Pope Benedict XVI (the former German Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger) was himself on the conservative wing of the church, and clearly wishes to reunite conservatives who have spent decades in the wilderness after breaking away from the Vatican. Bishop Bernard Fellay, the "Superior General" of the SSPX, agrees, and has been involved in detailed negotiations. Fellay agreed to move the SSPX away from Williamson's blatant antisemitism and Holocaust denial but can only go so far without alienating many of his own members who follow Williamson's line

Despite regular orders to keep quiet for the sake of the bigger project of influencing the entire Catholic Church in an ultra-conservative direction, Bishop Williamson has continued to publish an email newsletter circulated to a list of supporters around the world.

In his first email message of 2012 Williamson took a step closer to what many of his supporters see as an

Convicted Holocaust denier Bishop Richard Williamson, conference guest speaker

inevitable split in the Society, writing of "the pre-Apocalyptic gravity of the crisis in the Church". Mocking the position of the SSPX leadership as a dangerous delusion, he summarised their stance as: "with just a little flexibility on each side surely Rome and the SSPX can arrive at some arrangement whereby Rome gives back to the SSPX that respectability which it should never have lost, while the SSPX can re-enter Rome in a triumphal procession on the way to the two together re-conquering the world for Christ."

In contrast Williamson's position is that there can be no compromise with the forces of Modernism, which, after all, were explicitly condemned by the very Pope Pius X after whom the Society is named. Like many on the far right Williamson takes comfort in the hope that economic and social collapse will lead to revolutionary (or counter-revolutionary) change. While Modernists might think they are winning the political game, he writes: "... the great and good God has a surprise in store for those who think so. To save souls he washed out men's whole wretched system in the time of Noah, and to save souls again he may this time round blast it clean. The blasting may or may not start in 2012."

There are many among the Bishop's flock who likewise believe that 2012 might see the beginning of the counter-revolution. As Britain's far right seeks a way forward following the decline of Nick Griffin's BNP, there is a significant overlap between political and religious antisemites looking for leadership. It may be that the SSPX (and whatever hardline faction emerges from the likely turmoil in the Society later this year) will merely continue providing a refuge for those who cannot accept the modern world, including casualties of factional disputes within British fascism. But the real danger is that a post-BNP movement might draw strength from the assiduous networking of London's Catholic fundamentalists.

BNP: down but not yet out

For the British National Party, 2011 started badly and got worse. The party spent the year in desperate financial straits, activists left in droves amid factional strife and its election results were dire. Sonia Gable assesses the state of Britain's far right at the start of 2012.

IT IS TEMPTING to write off the British National Party. Its leader, Nick Griffin, faces investigation for alleged election fraud and is believed rarely to visit the UK. His henchmen– Adam Walker, Clive Jefferson and Patrick Harrington – who run the party for him while holding paid posts on Griffin's European parliamentary staff, are unpopular, Harrington especially as he is not even a BNP member. Meanwhile Griffin's fellow MEP Andrew Brons is busy building an alternative power base.

But it is too early to consign the BNP to history. It is not even three years ago that the party polled 943,598 votes in a European election, gaining two MEPs. The result was not as bad as it might have been – at one stage the party threatened to win seven MEPs, but the truth is that the results in the North West and Yorkshire and Humber regions were an important victory, albeit an undeserved one. In Yorkshire and the Humber, Brons only just scraped through with 9.8% of the vote as a result of a substantial fall in Labour's support. In the North West, Griffin's victory with 8.0% was partly the result of a tactical error by some anti-fascists who failed to support the Green Party, which with just 5,000 more votes would have taken the seat in place of Griffin.

Since their election it must be admitted that the two MEPs have played an active role in the European Parliament, something that their own members appear not to appreciate. Writing on his dissident BNP Ideas website on 18 January, Brons explained: "I have recently been criticised for working too hard to advance the Nationalist cause in the European Parliament and seeking to establish that Nationalists elected to public office are worthy of being elected and are capable of performing in that role. Nationalists are frequently criticised by our opponents for failing to speak, failing to attend and resigning before the end of their elected term." He was referring to most of the party's local councillors, whom *Searchlight* years ago dubbed the "do-nothing" councillors.

General election high

In May 2010 the BNP lost all but two of the 28 council seats it was defending, including all its councillors in Barking and Dagenham. And despite hopes of at least coming second in Barking in the general election, Griffin received a lower vote share in the constituency than the BNP received in 2005. Nevertheless the BNP fielded candidates in 338 out of the 650 constituencies, gained 563,743 votes and saved 73 deposits, the best general election result ever for a fascist party. It was achieved despite bitter infighting in the weeks leading up to the poll, including the arrest of one BNP national officer for allegedly threatening to kill Griffin and the party's webmaster taking down the BNP website a few days before polling day.

Since then, the BNP's fortunes have plummeted. In summer 2010 Griffin easily saw off a challenge to his leadership of the party from Eddy Butler, an Essex-based party national officer with a track record of organising successful council election campaigns. Griffin's response to Butler's failed attempt to gather enough nominations to force a leadership election – an impossible 20% of all party members of two years' standing – was to expel him from the party. Butler maintained an active blog on which he posted many revelations damaging to his former party, often supplied by other activists who had fallen foul of Griffin's divisive and incompetent leadership. But Butler failed to rally many people around him, stayed out of all the new far-right parties that were springing up, and eventually joined the English Democrats.

By the end of 2010 Griffin, increasingly under siege amid allegations of incompetence and financial mismanagement, was admitting that the party had lost members. Quite how many is not known, as the party's 2010 accounts, which would include an audited membership figure at 31 December 2010, have not yet been submitted to the Electoral Commission. The 2009 accounts, which turned up in January 2011, nearly six months after they were due, showed a party heavily in debt to suppliers and HM Revenue and Customs, despite a substantial increase in income as a result of the efforts of Jim Dowson, a militant anti-abortion campaigner and convicted criminal whom Griffin had brought in as a management consultant and fundraiser.

Growing financial problems

By mid-2010 the party owed at least £500,000, according to Griffin. According to a recently leaked letter written by David Hannam, the party's treasurer, to Griffin on 25 September 2010 following his resignation from that role eight days earlier, the party overspent during the general election because nobody, least of all him, knew the full extent of the party's liabilities and nobody had the means to keep track of the party's spending. The election was followed by a fall in income in June with the result that "salaries were paid late and creditors screamed".

From Hannam's description of the chaotic way in which the BNP ran its finances in 2010, it is apparent why the 2010 accounts remain at large. Hannam, who has since died, had a reputation for financial incompetence but his letter reveals that his attempts to sort out the mess were thwarted by other party officers. "What soon became apparent to me was that I was essentially dealing with a number of conflicting individuals who all demanded a treasurer who was

accountable to numerous people," wrote Hannam. They included a newly formed "national scrutiny committee" as well as Harrington, Jefferson, Walker and Dowson, who "often clashed between and against each other in their requests or expectations of treasury and myself".

Alongside its financial problems, made worse by the long-running legal proceedings brought by the Equality and Human Rights Commission over the party's racist constitution, and several costly disputes with former employees, the BNP was failing at the polls. By-election results were poor throughout 2011 and the party lost all but two of the 11 council seats it was defending in the May 2011 elections. Some of its remaining councillors have left the party or resigned their seats since then.

On 26 June 2011 the BNP held an extraordinary general meeting to change the party's constitution, a matter that had been hotly debated for several months. A leadership challenger would no longer have to gain nominations to stand against Griffin, but the winner of the election would be handed a fixed five-year term in office. Griffin had announced the previous year that he would resign as party leader in 2013 so that he could concentrate on the 2014 European election campaign, in an attempt to defuse opposition, but had apparently now reneged on that promise.

To the surprise of some among the BNP leadership, Brons took up the challenge; many had been expecting Griffin's opponent to be Richard Edmonds, the veteran nationalist and Holocaust denier, who had no chance of winning. A short campaign period and draconian restrictions on what the leadership candidates could do were designed to favour Griffin, whose name was well known and who had support from most party officers, largely because he had sacked all his critics.

Victory by a whisker

That made it all the more surprising that Griffin won by only nine votes – 1,157 against Brons's 1,148 with 11 spoilt papers and 37 votes declared invalid as they were unsigned. In defiance of the restrictions on campaigning, Griffin's victory followed the circulation of an eight-page booklet entitled *Party Overview* published independently of Brons's campaign, which denigrated Griffin and his leadership team, an email entitled "The reality about Andrew Brons", circulated from an official BNP email account, and a leaflet from Griffin's team headed *Myth Busters*, aimed at quelling internal discontent about the party's debts, a central bone of contention in the leadership campaign.

Incredibly that leaflet claimed the BNP only owed £52,000 in contrast to the over £700,000 figure Butler claimed was given to the BNP's Advisory Council in June, and the evidence that the party was struggling financially in October 2010 when Dowson wrote to its creditors giving them a week to accept an offer of 20p in the pound "in full and final payment" of their outstanding invoices. The leaflet was quite simply a pack of lies. For example it clamed a bill owed to Romac Press, a Belfast printer, was in dispute (and therefore not counted in the amount owed). It went on to state:

BNP leader Nick Griffin (left) and rival Andrew Brons

"Manager of Romac Press is in court next month for attempted 'blackmail' and 'demanding money with menaces'." In fact a court judgement was given on 15 July 2011 against Griffin and Hannam in favour of Romac Press for £45,505.82. As a result of the continued failure to pay, Romac Press was forced to cease trading.

Griffin was also avoiding paying compensation to former employees by making repeated hopeless appeals against judgements, or palming debts off onto his colleagues. Walker ended up personally liable to pay £21,000 to a former employee after Durham County Court heard in August 2011 that the BNP had reneged on a written agreement that he had signed in his capacity as party manager.

Bailiffs at the door

On 2 September High Court Enforcement Officers – bailiffs – called at Griffin's Welsh farmhouse in an attempt to collect £45,000 owed in legal costs for a court case he lost last year against four former BNP employees and officers who led a party rebellion in winter 2007/08. Griffin wriggled out of the debt but Simon Darby, who acts as a BNP spokesman and is employed as a researcher on the two MEPs' staff, is understood to have forfeited £20,000.

Throughout 2011, many prominent activists and party officers walked out of the party. Some left politics altogether; other found new homes in the National Front (NF) or English Democrats, newer organisations such as Britain First, the British Freedom Party or the tiny Freedom Democrats, or the nearly defunct Democratic Nationalists, and probably other groups.

Meanwhile Brons, left in a strong position after nearly ousting Griffin as leader and because of his status as an MEP, remains in the party, but ignored by the BNP website, which has said next to

nothing about him since the leadership election and does not link to his MEP's website. Brons states in his article of 18 January 2012 that he has been "lobbied to form yet another break-away party", but, "The conclusion that I would simply have created a seventh (or is that eighth) faction fighting for a seventh or should that be an eighth fraction of the BNP has, so far, eluded [those doing the lobbying]."

Brons believes, rightly, that, "The only certainty that emerges from all of the mess in which the Nationalist Movement is currently wallowing, is that the vast majority of the activists that we had in 2010 must return to work under one party roof or the Nationalist Movement will fail for all time." The question of whether to form a new party was hotly debated at the conference Brons's BNP Ideas group held on 22 October 2011, which attracted 170 people compared to the under 100 who attended the BNP's annual conference a week later. Not all were BNP members: several were recent expellees, others were longstanding activists of other parties.

Speaking at the conference Brons insisted that he would not be pressured into leading a split against his better judgement but accepted that the current party structure is in a terminal state. He believes he would need at least 1,500 members to go with him if he is to create a serious political force rather than yet another splinter group that crashes and burns. No one, least of all Brons, knows quite how many would sign up to a new party so he prefers to wait until Griffin has reached the end of the road in his attempts to wriggle out of paying those many people who have valid claims against the party.

London elections

The BNP is now gearing up for the May council elections and the elections for London mayor and the London Assembly. Results in recent council by-elections do not bode well for the London campaign. In 2008 the BNP beat the 5% threshold in the London-wide poll for the London Assembly and took one seat, which went to Richard Barnbrook, a BNP councillor in the east London borough of Barking and Dagenham. Generally seen as an incompetent buffoon and with a longstanding drink problem, Barnbrook failed to make an impact and now sits as an independent after leaving the BNP in 2010.

The BNP will fight to regain that seat, and claims in a graphic on its website to have raised about £17,000 towards a target of £100,000, but has only a handful of activists in London. For example an article on 16 January about a leafleting activity in east London included a picture of just four middle-aged males, who reportedly distributed a mere 1,000 leaflets over a three-hour period (perhaps five leafleters if the photographer also helped). The party may also be hampered by its choice of mayoral candidate, Carlos Cortiglia, a Uruguayan who volunteered to fight for the Argentinian Junta in the Falklands War of 1982.

The BNP still has active groups in many other parts of the country but will struggle to mount effective campaigns as Brons's supporters are unlikely to make much effort. Late last year Brons formed an umbrella group called the Brent Group, which aimed "to provide a centre for fellow patriots who have left the old party, disgusted by the incompetence and mismangement [sic] of it's [sic] leaders". He is now developing it into a Centre for Democratic Nationalism, which might support candidates under another party label. That may be the nearly moribund Democratic Nationalists (DN), which never managed to expand beyond Bradford, but is still a registered political party. Prominent in the DN is James Lewthwaite, a former BNP councillor in Bradford, who was on the platform at the BNP Ideas conference, but has also spoken at meetings of the openly nazi British Movement.

Carlos Cortiglia, BNP London mayor hopeful for 2012

For Griffin the main concern is to secure his re-election to the European Parliament in 2014, where he can continue building a European fascist movement, enjoy a generous salary and expenses, including half a dozen staff, and secure a pension with ten years' service. However Griffin's activity in Brussels and Strasbourg will hardly help him. Voters know and care little about what goes on there and BNP activists even less. And unless he can reverse the declining fortunes of his party soon, and shake off its debts, it will be nearly impossible to repeat the feat of gaining at least 8% of the vote in the North West region.

But there is another intriguing possibility for Griffin. Since before his election as an MEP he has been building firm links with Hungary's fascist Jobbik party, which has three MEPs. Jobbik and the BNP are members of the Alliance of European National Movements, alongside far-right groups from seven other countries. Perhaps Griffin will succeed in persuading Jobbik, or a far-right party in another EU state with better election prospects than the BNP, to give him a safe seat. If that happens, the veteran British nationalist politician will not hesitate to adopt a nationalism of a different stripe.

Where they have gone

THE ONE POINT that favours the BNP's continued survival is that no other party has come anywhere close to dominance among those disillusioned with Griffin's leadership. The main beneficiaries have been the National Front, English Democrats and Britain First, and the activists who defected to them will be unwilling to change party again.

Also to watch in 2012 are the New Right and Iona London Forum (see page 5 onwards) and the English Defence League (pages 18-21).

National Front

The National Front, founded in 1967 and led by Ian Edward, enjoyed a bigger turnout at its 2011 Remembrance Sunday parade than it had attracted for several years, though well short of the thousands who marched behind the NF banner in the 1970s.

The most prominent BNP activists who have defected to the NF are the veteran Holocaust denier Richard Edmonds, once deputy leader of the BNP and still a BNP member, Chris Jackson, a former BNP North West regional organiser who challenged Griffin for the leadership in 2007, Michael Easter, who acted as Jackson's campaign manager, and Kevin Bryan, a former Rossendale BNP organiser. Another is Bernadette Jaggers, one of Griffin's former bodyguards.

In the 2011 council elections the NF fielded eight candidates across England but only two received more than 10% of the vote. The NF is likely to contest this year's London elections, probably only in one or two constituencies to avoid having to spread its resources, but might field a mayoral candidate if it thinks the BNP campaign will flop.

English Democrats

The English Democrats were formed in 1997 by Robin Tilbrook, a solicitor and former Conservative. The party has attracted several former BNP activists, some of whom stood as ED candidates in May 2011. Most prominent among them are Eddy Butler, who unsuccessfully challenged Griffin for the BNP leadership in 2010, and Chris Beverley, a former BNP councillor in Leeds.

The EDs won two seats in the May 2011 council elections, a net gain of one. Both were in Fenside ward in Boston, where a BNP councillor defected to the EDs and retained his seat. The party is English nationalist as its name suggests, but has similar hardline positions on core issues such as immigration and Europe as the BNP.

The party is hoping to capitalise on the proposed referendum on Scottish independence, arguing that the government should hold a similar referendum in England.

Britain First

Formed last May as a campaign group, Britain First claimed it would not contest elections but be a pressure group that seeks to influence policy through petitions. By November it had morphed into the National People's Party, led by Paul Golding, the former BNP Sevenoaks councillor and party communications officer.

It claims to have over 20 branches around the country. Its relative success may be the result of a recruitment and fundraising campaign, consisting of emails sent out several times a week, aggressive begging letters and phone calls, coordinated by Jim Dowson, who successfully raised large sums of money for the BNP, only to see Nick Griffin fritter it away.

Its treasurer is Andy McBride, a former BNP South East regional organiser. It has no electoral track record so far.

British Freedom Party

The British Freedom Party was going nowhere until it was boosted by the announcement in December 2011 of an electoral pact with the English Defence League. The BFP was formed in autumn 2010 by supporters of Eddy Butler's failed BNP leadership bid, though Butler did not follow them. It soon split, giving rise to the Freedom Democrats. Its current leader, Paul Weston, is a former UK Independence Party candidate.

Freedom Democrats

Formed in May 2011 as a splinter from the BFP, its leader is Gary Marshall, the son of an English mother and Native American father serving in the US air force in England.

Democratic Nationalists

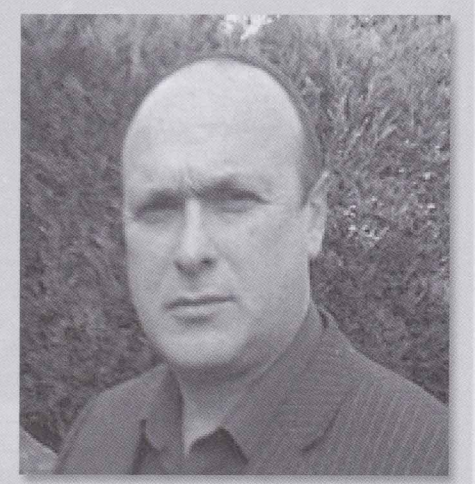
Led by Neil Craig, with James Lewthwaite as treasurer, the Democratic Nationalists became a registered party in March 2008, just in time to field nine candidates in the local elections in Bradford. Its policy statement is sparse but it is anti-immigration, opposes human rights legislation and wants to "restore the balance between England and other members in the Union".

England First Party

Formed in 2004 by Mark Cotterill, who had notably run the American Friends of the BNP, the England First Party is mainly confined to the North West and Stoke-on-Trent, where it won over a few former BNP activists. The tiny party, still led by Cotterill, supports English nationalism and achieved a handful of fairly respectable election results in 2011.

Other parties

Other far-right parties and non-party groups in the UK include the British People's Party, British Movement, League of St George, Racial Volunteer Force and November 9th Society. All are hardline, mostly openly nazi.



Eddy Butler, former BNP elections officer now putting his skills to use with the English Democrats

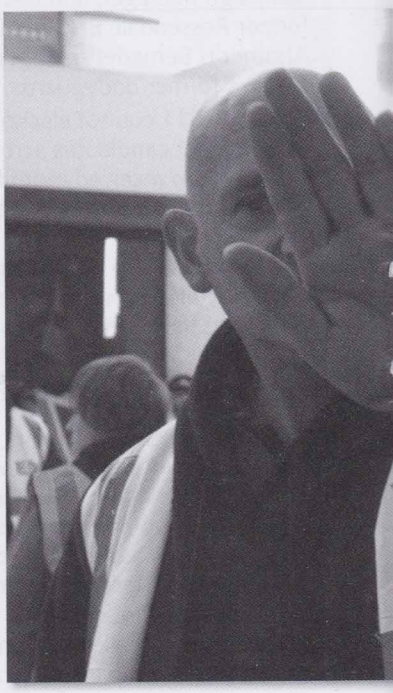
An unwelcome presence: EDL returns to Barking

By **Gerry Gable**

Photos: Daphne Liddle

Soldier or poser?

EDL equipment carrier



CONFUSION AND INADEQUATE planning on all sides marked the English Defence League's march in Barking, east London, on 14 January.

The police were expecting no more than 150 people, saying that the EDL had issued a London-only callout, and that they had a strategic plan that would prevent any serious trouble.

Unite Against Fascism (UAF) announced a counter-protest at only very short notice and changed arrangements three times in 30 hours. Only about 50 people turned up – or 40 according to UAF organiser Weyman Bennett – claiming they wanted to avoid confrontation.

The Hope Not Hate campaign, which rightly targeted Barking and Dagenham as a key area in defeating the British National Party at the ballot box and is still working in the borough, did not call for opposition, but its website carried a report and photographs from the day.

Searchlight's experienced eyewitnesses estimated independently of each other that there were around 200 on the EDL march. Several had come from East Anglia and some from further afield. Strangely the police, HNH, UAF and even the EDL itself claimed numbers were 100 or lower.

The reason for discrepancy may be timing. At some point in the afternoon around half the EDL supporters got on a train from Barking to Whitechapel, unhindered by the police, who appeared to have received inadequate intelligence on the EDL's plans from the informants they are known to have in the organisation.

Gathering near the East London Mosque, the EDL supporters proceeded to attack young Muslims. This led to a larger disturbance when the community responded in defence of the EDL's victims. At one point several hundred people were involved and bottles were thrown. The incident led to one man being taken to hospital and 15 arrests.

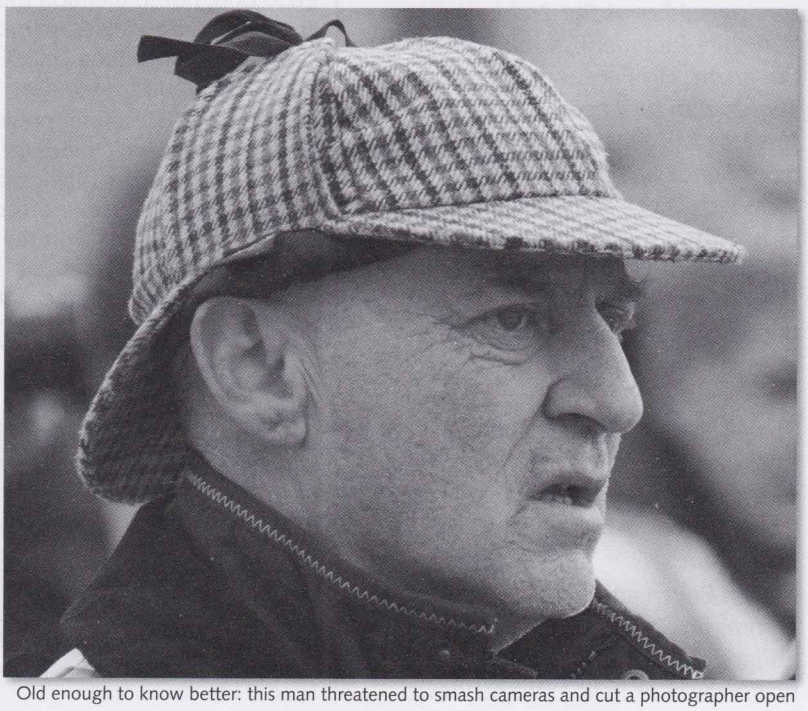
In Barking some minor scuffles led to five arrests. EDL supporters initially posed for photographs for media photographers but progressed to threats to cut people up. The police responded by telling the photographers to move to a place where they could not get clear pictures of the march. Those who made the threat appeared to have been left in peace.

Concerns about serving soldiers running with the EDL were bolstered by the presence of an EDL marcher wearing a sweatshirt with the words "EDL Colchester Garrison" and at least one large British Army flag was prominent on the march.

On the same day in Rochdale, the EDL carried out a flash action at the halal meat counter in Asda. A rapid police deployment stopped it escalating into violence.

Dishonouring the Army *Photo: David Hoffman*

Why so shy?



Old enough to know better: this man threatened to smash cameras and cut a photographer open

EDL members imprisoned for mosque bombing

By **Laurence Elliott**

TWO MEMBERS OF the English Defence League have been jailed for attempting to blow up a mosque in Stoke-on-Trent last year.

Simon Beech, 23, and Garreth Foster, 29, were each sentenced to ten years in prison after they were found guilty of setting fire to the newly opened Regent Road mosque in Hanley, by running a gas pipe into the ground floor of the building from a nearby property. The mosque suffered about £50,000 of damage as a result and the surrounding residential area was put at significant risk of fire.

Beech, who is also a member of the British National Party, was a serving soldier of the 2nd battalion Yorkshire Regiment at the time of the arson. His Facebook page was awash with racist comments directed towards Muslims, which were used as evidence against him. They included, "Let's start bashing skulls, dirty, rotten rodents, they breed like rats here, they need to die like rats," and, "I say we need to start taking things into our own hands because they are running the place". He later posted, "The time has come. They burn our poppies, we burn their place. Burn the lot of them out," as well as "liking" a comment from another user that said "Nuke all mosques".

Both Beech and Foster denied committing arson with intent to endanger life. Beech even denied he was a racist or held extreme views.

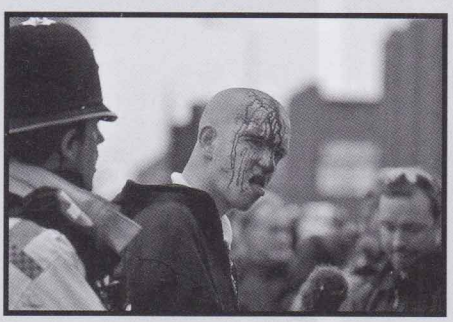
EDL plans to ramp up activity across the country

THE ENGLISH DEFENCE LEAGUE is planning to target at least two more towns in 2012 as part of its racist campaign of intimidation and violence. Following its Armistice Day march last November, when 172 members were arrested, EDL leaders have said they will be pinpointing Bristol and Walsall to expand their presence across Britain.

Once again, however, they have applied for permission to march through Leicester, this time on 4 February. The last protest they staged there in October 2010 was organised under the *Daily Mail* inspired slogan "Protesting against anti-white racism and the two-tier justice system".

It quickly descended into violence. The one thousand or so EDL thugs who were cordoned off by the police began throwing bricks, bottles and even fireworks and petrol bombs at the officers. Some broke through the police cordon and waged running battles with officers and local youths. The cost of the 2,000-strong police operation was estimated at £850,000, not to mention the financial cost to local businesses, particularly the shops in Humberstone Gate East that had to board up for the day.

Although they cannot prevent a static protest, police and council officials held a meeting to consider their response to the EDL's application. Senior officers are currently in dialogue with the Leicestershire division about the EDL's plans to march, which it claims will attract divisions from Yorkshire, Berkshire, Greater Manchester and Nottinghamshire.



EDL October 2010 rally in Leicester leaves supporter bloodied after attack on police

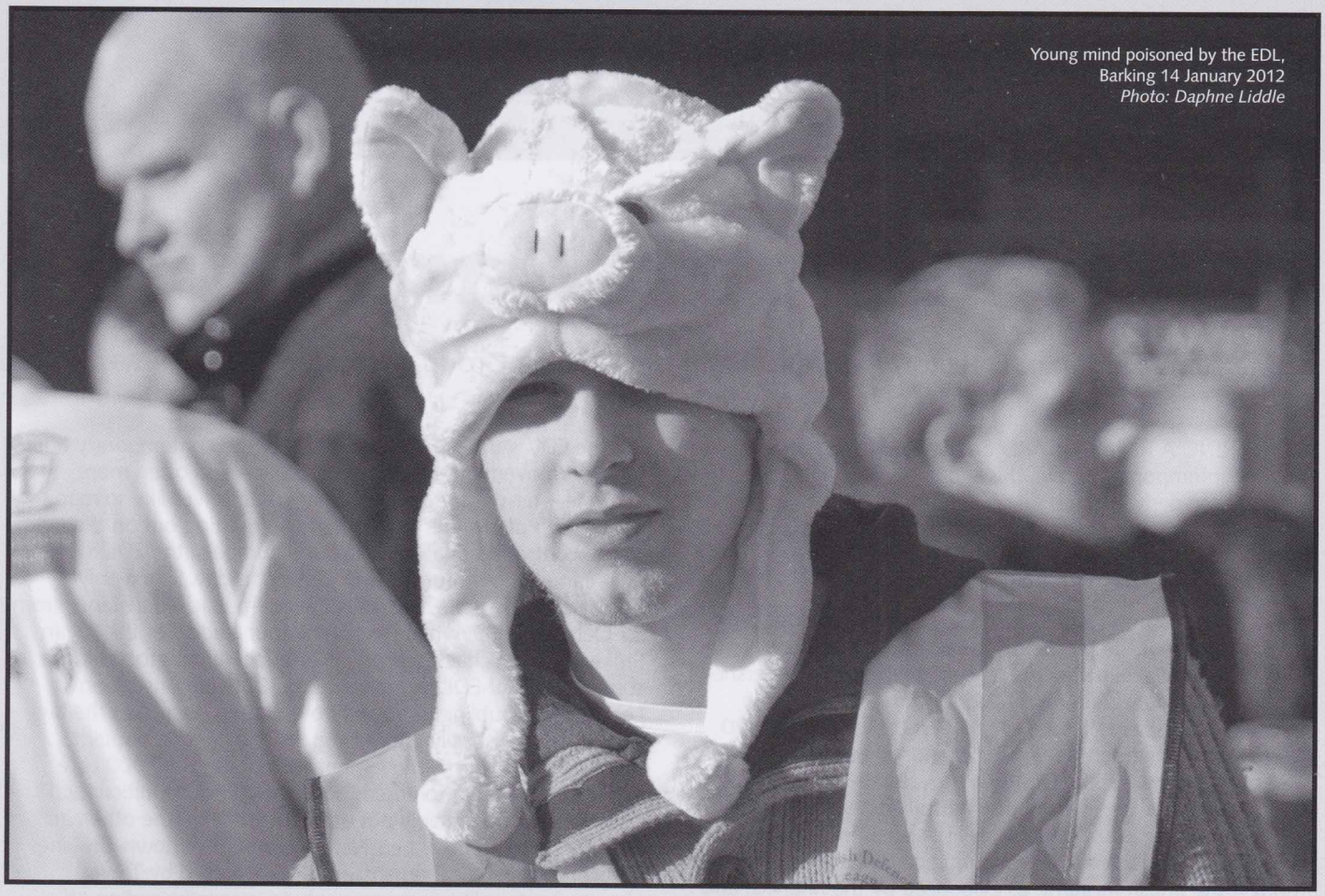
A police spokeswoman emphasised their obligation to protect and inform the local community. "This isn't the first time Leicestershire police has had to deal with a large-scale demonstration," she said. "People know from past experience that we do have a commitment to make sure that our communities are well-informed of developments."

The Leicester event is one of six marches planned for the coming months, the first of which was in Barking, east London, on 14 January (see pages 18-19).

Given the disruption to trade that the last Leicester rally caused, the chief executive of the Leicestershire Chamber of Commerce is urging the Home Office to decline the EDL's application for a march. City mayor Sir Peter Soulsby expressed similar concerns, saying, "Our overriding aim is to ensure that the people of Leicester can go about their business safely. We will do everything we can to ensure that any demonstration passes off peacefully, with as little disruption to the life of the city as possible".

Leicester Unite Against Fascism (UAF) claims it is ready to stage a counter-protest if the march is allowed to go ahead, although the scale of the EDL's protest remains unclear. Weyman Bennett of the UAF said in a statement, "The EDL are trying to spread their racist arguments across the country and they will be vigorously opposed wherever they go to try and divide people."

The Leicestershire Federation of Muslim Organisations has offered to open a dialogue with the EDL in an attempt to avoid an open confrontation. Suleman Nagdi, spokesman for the LFMO, said, "Our door is always open and we would urge members of the EDL to reconsider their position and opt instead for dialogue with us". It is highly unlikely, however, that the EDL leadership will consider this alternative.



Young mind poisoned by the EDL, Barking 14 January 2012
Photo: Daphne Liddle

Leeds councillor suspended for association with EDL

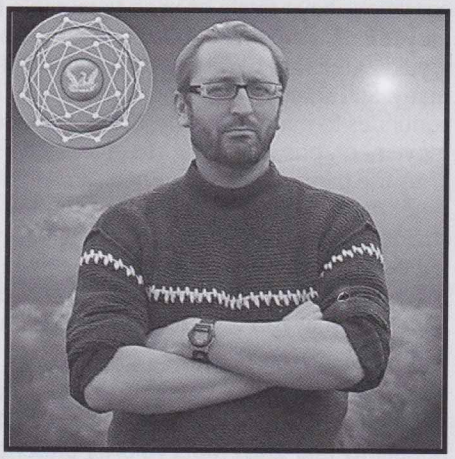
A STAFF MEMBER of the children's services department at Leeds City Council has been suspended after The Sunday Times revealed his alleged links to anti-Muslim websites named by Anders Breivik in his manifesto.

Chris Knowles, co-ordinator of the English Defence League's media operation, operated under the online alias Aeneas Lavinium to contribute to a number of racist and Islamophobic websites and forums. Like Ann Marchini, one of the elusive EDL funders revealed by *The Sunday Times* in December, Knowles is a leading member of the US Center for Vigilant Freedom, which later became the International Civil Liberties Alliance.

It was the ICLA website for which Knowles supposedly wrote, including an article about Fjordman, real name Peter Jensen, who is a racist blogger named 111 times in Breivik's manifesto. The site featured pro-EDL items as well as a cartoon of the Prophet Muhammad.

In his capacity as a CVF director, Knowles acted as an intermediary between the EDL's offline street-based protesters and its online supporters around the world, including bloggers and business people. According to former EDL leader Paul Ray, Knowles is thought to have been present at the July 2009 meeting hosted by Alan Ayling, alias Alan Lake, which brought together various leading figures of the anti-Islamic "counter-jihad" movement, including Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, alias Tommy Robinson.

A spokeswoman for Leeds City Council said, "We take the allegations made by *The Sunday Times* very seriously and a member of staff has been suspended while we undertake a thorough investigation. If there has been any breach of the council's policies or code of conduct we will take appropriate action."



Suspended: Chris Knowles: alias Aeneas Lavinium

A 2011 Report Card on the '

Dr Matthew Feldman, Director, Radicalism and New Media Group (www.radicalism-new-media.org),

IN OFFERING A REPORT CARD on the below-"C"-level far right in contemporary Britain, this short survey shall address four points. These derive from brief considerations of the context, potential threats and changing tactics deployed by the far right, both in Britain and abroad, with particular attention paid to the recent rise in extreme right-wing terrorism.

First, in terms of the British context, we are now witnessing a reconfiguration of the far right that seems to take place every generation or so. Following the forever-stigmatising watershed year of 1945 – concluding both World War Two and the mercifully-short-lived "fascist epoch" – it took more than 20 years to draw together the diverse strands of British right-wing extremism via the National Front in the late 1960s; and again, a similar amount of time before the British National Party's (BNP) 1993 council election seat in Tower Hamlets. It may be that a similar, quite fundamental restructuring is now taking place amongst the British far right, as evidenced by the financial and organisational disintegration of the BNP since the 2010 general election, alongside the rise of the English Defence League (EDL) over the last 30 months – leading to a far-right social movement that appears to be fracturing, especially in the north of England, causing the EDL to look increasingly closely at entering party politics, via a political pact with the BNP splinter group, the British Freedom Party.

Yet this apparent political reconfiguration should be kept in perspective. Clearly, 2012 will not be a replay of 1922 or 1933: the barbarians are not at the gate, ready to seize power. Despite seeing two ex-neo-Nazis, Nick Griffin and Andrew Brons, elected as the UK's first far-right MEPs in June 2009, the BNP more usually comes behind the Monster Raving Loony Party at local and national elections. So the main party political "face" of today's far right certainly does not represent an existential threat to this country – especially considering that socio-economic conditions have rarely been so favourable to "ethno-nationalist" movements as they are today – even if most people of goodwill would agree that having two far-right MEPs in Britain is two too many. Still another "face"; of the far right in today's UK continues to march; namely, the EDL's "new far-right" social movement, one preferring street shouting to electoral politics. Thus the dangers posed by the EDL's rabid anti-Muslim agenda is not manifested at the ballot box like the BNP, but instead strains regional police budgets; continues risking assaulted individuals guilty of no more than being in the wrong place at the wrong time; and most significantly, if demonstrations are handled badly, can tax hard-won community cohesion in vulnerable areas.

Yet secondly, at least when compared with the more traditional, party political far right in the UK, the EDL's relative popularity and grass roots visibility presents still another threat. For the EDL is the great white whale of the contemporary British far-right movement, resulting in smaller – and often more extreme – far-right groups attaching themselves like so many barnacles. Put another way, in terms of getting out on the street, confrontationally and in large numbers, the EDL is the only game in town for Britain's far right today. Space only permits one example here, albeit a well-publicised instance from 31 October 2009, when two of the four leaders of the Aryan Strike Force, Michael Heaton and Trevor Hannington, joined some 900 other EDL supporters at an EDL demonstration in Leeds. This troublingly shows two different "faces" of the far right opportunistically interacting: on one hand, a populist, "new far right" social movement with perhaps 30,000 core supporters claiming to defend some features of multicultural democracy (but certainly not others!); while on the other, an outright, revolutionary neo-Nazi movement of down-the-line Eurocentric biological racism, aptly summarised by Trevor Hannington's online comment only four months earlier: "If Hitler had won ww2 what a Wonderful Land we will now Have [sic]". That EDL gatherings and online exchanges have the potential for violent radicalisation is borne out by Heaton and Hannington's trolling for potential neo-Nazi recruits in Leeds that day, but also through the increasingly violent actions of many of the EDL's grass roots supporters themselves. Only last month, the conviction of two EDL supporters, one a serving British soldier, underscores the potential for violent radicalisation by and through the EDL itself: both Simon Beech and Garreth Foster received 10 years for attempting to blow up the Regent's Road mosque in Stoke-on-Trent.

This raises a third point, concerning what may be regarded as a serious domestic threat to Britain today: far-right terrorism. Were it not for the fact that the British security services are perhaps the most able and effective in the world, several

Simon Beech and Garreth Foster jailed for 10 years in December for attempting to blow up a mosque

The University of Northampton's Radicalism and New Media research group (www.radicalism-new-media.org) is an unaffiliated academic research and consultancy unit formed in 2009. It has worked on several projects with *Searchlight*, most notably *Lone Wolves: Myth or Reality?* and *Far-Right.com* (both appearing in 2011), and is grateful to the editors of *Searchlight* magazine for the opportunity to provide monthly independent comment in these pages.

faces' of the British far right

University of Northampton

subsequent instances of "lone wolf" attacks would have followed David Copeland's two-week bombing spree in London, which killed three people and injured 129 others during a fortnight in April 1999. (That date, incidentally, was the "110 years since the birth of the Great One" – Adolf Hitler – cited in William Pierce's *The Turner Diaries*, which helped to motivate Copeland's actions. For three decades now, in fact, far-right activists have been embracing acts of "lone wolf terrorism" just like Copeland's – supported in the writings of Americans like the theorist Louis Beam; Pierce's racist "novels" (especially the 1989 *Hunter*); and "new media" propaganda by American neo-Nazis like Alex Curtis, Tom Metzger and several others. Although the term "lone wolf terrorism" remains contested, meaning that facts and figures can be hard to come by – with a chief exception provided by the excellent Searchlight report from earlier this year, *Lone Wolves: Myth or Reality?* – one impressionistic example is worth citing. This 2009 straw poll taken from the American Nazi Party website, *White Revolution*, found that nearly half of informal poll respondents self-identified as lone wolves:

> Your Involvement in a Pro-White Organization:
>
> #1 - 47% said "Lone Wolf"
>
> #2 - 34% said "Looking to Join, But Not Sure Which Org is the Best For Me"

No doubt sensing this change in far-right tactics, that same year a declassified report by the Intelligence and Analysis division of the American Department of Homeland Security concluded: "lone wolves and small terrorist cells embracing violent rightwing extremist ideology are the most dangerous domestic terrorism threat in the United States".

To be sure, this idea has travelled across the Atlantic, most horrifically in the case of Anders Behring Breivik's 77 cold-blooded murders in Norway last July. Whatever his insanity ruling by Norwegian courts, that Breivik could successfully navigate the "terrorist cycle" alone and undetected – while simultaneously writing a far-right manifesto in excess of 1,500 pages – demonstrates an ideological commitment and willing recourse to violence which is the hallmark of self-activating terrorism, whether undertaken by anarchists, jihadi Islamists or far-right extremists. Once again, Britain is not immune from this trend, as revealed by two cases of would-be far-right lone wolf terrorists in England from 2009 and 2010. In the first case, an unemployed loner named Neil Lewington, who apparently had no personal connections with established far-right groups, successfully turned his room in his parents' Berkshire home into what the CPS called a "bomb factory". He was only caught by chance, drunkenly changing trains on the way to a date, all the while carrying potentially lethal tennis ball bombs that he had built by himself.

Only a year later, a still more frightening scenario emerged when a third leader of the aforementioned, c. 350-strong Aryan Strike Force, Ian Davison, succeeded in constructing a Weapon of Mass Destruction out of his Durham home. Davison was the first person convicted under the UK's 1996 Chemical Weapons Act for producing ricin, which he also developed apparently unknown to anyone else: up to a dozen lethal doses were found at the bottom of a seemingly innocuous jam jar in his kitchen cupboard. Put another way, Iraq was ostensibly invaded looking for WMD that a self-educated terrorist was able to manufacture all alone, needing nothing more than a credit card and computer. Although these were very different individuals, Lewington and Davison shared two key features that have combined to pose a serious and creditable threat of terrorism to Britain from ethno-nationalists undertaking lone wolf terrorism via internet-provided tools and training.

The fourth and final point, then, is that what I have called "broadband terrorism" poses a new challenge in terms of potential radicalisation and terrorist violence. For there is a real problem with incitement and radicalisation online; with the unchecked dissemination of extremist images, texts and videos via the internet; and even, at the most extreme, the preparation of terrorist acts derived from the internet (such as the downloading of paramilitary weapons manuals or online purchases of materials to prepare acts of terrorism). Like lone wolf terrorism, "broadband terrorism" is a tactic certainly not confined to the far right, even if right-wing extremists have long outstripped other ideological activists in this regard. This is exemplified by Breivik's manifesto 2083: *A European Declaration of Independence*, which was sent to thousands of like-minded supporters less than two hours before his attacks. In my view, it was one of three of his terrorist acts that day – the other two, of course, being the bombing in Oslo and the shootings on Utøya island. More than trying to incite a European civil war, Breivik's tract also provided a terrorist DIY kit which – like so many other texts readily available online – went into painstaking detail in order to show how a committed individual can progress through the terrorist cycle, alone, in less than a month. Breivik disgustingly succeeded, while Lewington and Davison thankfully failed in attempting to use the internet to bring about lone wolf terrorist plots. More than any other, the genuine potential of internet-facilitated, lone wolf terrorism by far-right activists remains a troubling phenomenon in contemporary Britain, Europe and the US. Though it is still unfashionable to make this case, the issue of "broadband terrorism" needs to be urgently addressed by policymakers at both national and international levels, for it is clear that this is a twenty-first century problem which will only get worse with time.

Roundup

TREBLINKA

Archaeological find at Treblinka

By **Laurence Elliott**

FRESH EVIDENCE HAS been unearthed at the notorious Treblinka extermination camp in Poland that has publicly debunked the nonsense peddled by Holocaust deniers once again. British archaeologist Caroline Sturdy Colls has carried out an extensive investigation of the camp area, and discovered the remains of what could be up to hundreds of thousands of bodies.

Used during the Second World War by the SS and Eastern European Trawnikis, Treblinka was a Nazi death camp in occupied north east Poland. Together with camps at Belzec, Majdanek and Sobibor, the Treblinka camp was constructed as part of Operation Reinhard, the code name given to the Nazi plan to wipe out Polish Jews. One part of the camp was designed as an industrial death factory, where 99% of arrivals were gassed immediately using the exhaust fumes from captured Soviet tanks. The other part was a labour unit, where Jewish prisoners were forced, on threat of their own deaths, to help with the disposal of gas chamber victims. These workers, known as *Sonderkommandos*, eventually revolted and escaped from Treblinka in 1943, after which its operations ended.

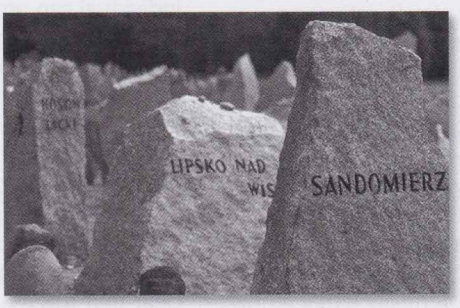
Some 800,000 Jews were killed in the gas chambers at Treblinka and 10,000 more died from exhaustion or mistreatment. Towards the end of the war, however, when Germany's defeat was imminent, Nazi leaders began to realise they would most likely be captured and brought to trial by the Allies. They therefore went to great lengths to destroy all traces of mass extermination at the sites across Poland and enacted the secret operation known as *Sonderaktion* 1005 in 1943.

The SS forced the Jewish prisoners to exhume the graves, burn all the bodies and bury the remains in huge pits. Chil Rajchman, one of the escapees, wrote a book about his experience there. In *A Survivor's Memory* he describes how corpses were burnt on 30 metre-long iron grills: "The ovens are moved from place to place, closer to the pits, so that the path is shorter and less time is wasted. It once happened that an oven was moved closer to a huge grave where perhaps a quarter of a million people were buried." Until now it was assumed that there was relatively little physical evidence at the Treblinka camp and that the Nazi plan to cover up their genocidal activities was successful.

Holocaust deniers exploited this cover-up for years, using the site's apparent lack of evidence as verification of misinformation about Nazi genocide across the whole of Europe. They claimed it was impossible to kill hundreds of thousands at the facility and that it was simply used as a transit camp. For example, a Holocaust denial website called NAFCASH (National Association of Forensic Criminologists, Archaeologists, Skeptics and Historians), describes the mass burial claims at Treblinka, as well as the other camps in occupied Poland, as "absurd", "utter nonsense" and a "malicious lie". They even offered a $54,000 (£35,000) reward to anyone who could substantiate the claim with proof.

Their assertions are based on the work of an Australian Holocaust denier called Richard Krege, who claims to have investigated the Treblinka and Belzec sites in 1999 and found no soil irregularities that would imply the existence of human remains. His "research" has been widely discredited as fraudulent and has only received funding from the Institute for Historical Review, a US

1,700 symbolic memorial stones represent the villages and towns where the 800,000 victims originated



Memorial stones commemorating the Jewish victims

refutes Holocaust deniers' claims

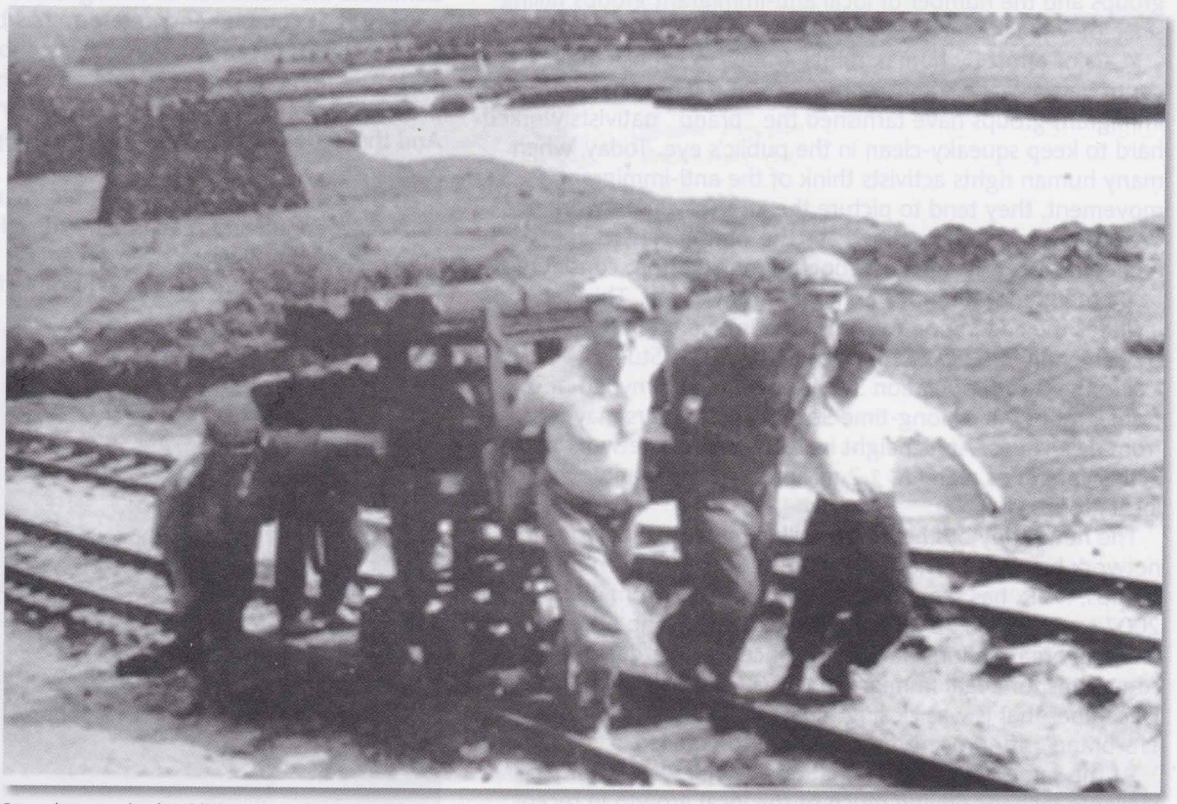
Holocaust denial organisation, and similar groups in the Middle East.

The discovery of mass graves by Sturdy Colls and her forensic archaeology team has exposed the arguments of these and other Holocaust deniers as entirely fatuous and provided further evidence of the extent of the Nazi genocide. "All the history books state that Treblinka was destroyed by the Nazis," she says in an interview with the BBC, "but the survey has demonstrated that simply isn't the case". Without disturbing them directly, Sturdy Colls used ground-penetrating radar technology to undertake the first co-ordinated scientific search of the grounds. With her team from the University of Birmingham, she managed to identify a number of large burial pits at the site, many of which she claims are "considerable in size".

Jonathan Charles, a former BBC correspondent, presented a Radio 4 documentary on 23 January, four days before Holocaust Memorial day, following Sturdy Colls's work at the site. In an article for the *Radio Times*, he said that the team also discovered evidence of buildings, two of which are most likely to have been used as gas chambers. He added that the pits discovered by the team each contained the burnt remains of thousands of bodies.

There are a number of other Nazi extermination camps across Poland where Jews were slaughtered in their thousands and where their bodies remain undiscovered and unmarked. Sturdy Colls hopes her Treblinka discovery will lead to investigations of these other camps. "I really hope this is the first stage in a long-term programme to seek out those hidden graves of the Holocaust," she said.

Having seen the archaeological findings, the authorities responsible for the Treblinka memorial are considering alterations to the site, including marking out the mass graves so that families of the victims know where to mourn. Not only will this debunk more of the baseless myths peddled by Holocaust deniers, it will also help the act of remembering those who were victims of one of the most terrible crimes in human history.



Rare photograph of Treblinka prisoners preparing a pyre for burning victims

Roundup

USA

The new shape of the anti-

By **Devin Burghart** and **Lenny Zeskind**, Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights, www.irehr.org

DRAMATIC DEVELOPMENTS are taking place inside and outside the anti-immigrant movement in the United States, according to a study by the Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights. A report, *The New Shape of the Anti-Immigrant Movement*, published in December, details how the support has eroded for many of the *national* anti-immigrant groups. Further, the number of *local* nativist groups has plunged dramatically in the last two years.

Nevertheless, the amount of anti-immigrant legislation introduced in the States has continued to skyrocket. Opinion polls show nativist sentiment at dangerously high levels, as the Tea Party has become a new force driving anti-immigrant politics.

Anti-immigrant movement fades

First, the good news: anti-immigrant organisations established during the last four decades are in a period of sharp contraction, with both membership in the national nativist groups and the number of local anti-immigrant groups falling since they reached a peak in 2007.

Years of effort by human rights groups to expose the controversial leaders and connections of the national anti-immigrant groups have tarnished the "brand" nativists worked hard to keep squeaky-clean in the public's eye. Today, when many human rights activists think of the anti-immigrant movement, they tend to picture the interwoven network of organisations often described as "the Tanton Network" – named after a Michigan eye-doctor, John Tanton, considered to be the grandfather of the modern movement. This network includes the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), NumbersUSA, Center for Immigration Studies, Californians for Population Stabilization, and a myriad of other front-groups which long-time *Searchlight* readers may recall from past issues. At its height in 2007-08, this network had an active core of as many as 1.2 million supporters and over 400 local groups.

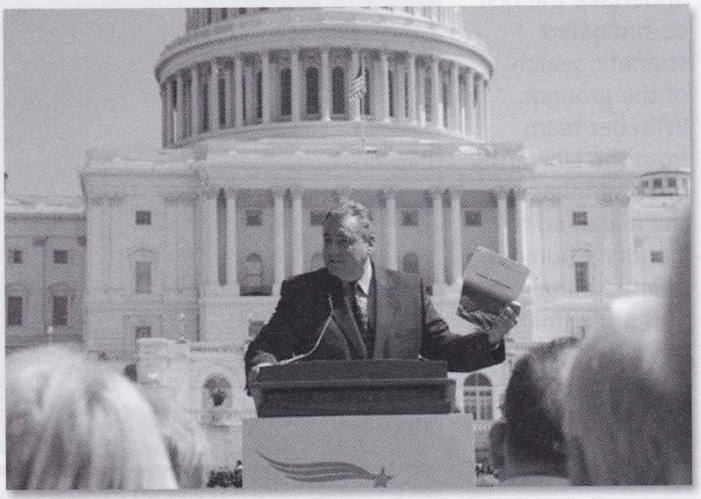
The new study by the Institute illuminates just how far that network has fallen. The oldest and most well-known of the groups, FAIR, has seen membership plummet from 45,000 in 2007 to 19,872 in 2011, a decrease of 55%. The other national organisations have experienced similar declines. Americans for Legal Immigration PAC (ALIPAC) announced in December that is was closing the doors of the operation to "re-brand" after recent fundraising efforts failed.

At the same time, the two national Minuteman border vigilante factions driving much of the local growth in recent years have now nearly vanished. One faction, the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC), officially shuttered its national headquarters in 2010. Of the 38 local MCDC chapters active in 2010, only 19 have shown any sign of activity in 2011. The other faction, Jim Gilchrist's Minuteman Project, continues to operate. But the group's public image was significantly tarnished when one of its leaders murdered a nine-year old girl and her father to fund continued vigilante activities. Of the 77 Minuteman Project local chapters active in 2010, only 36 have been active in 2011.

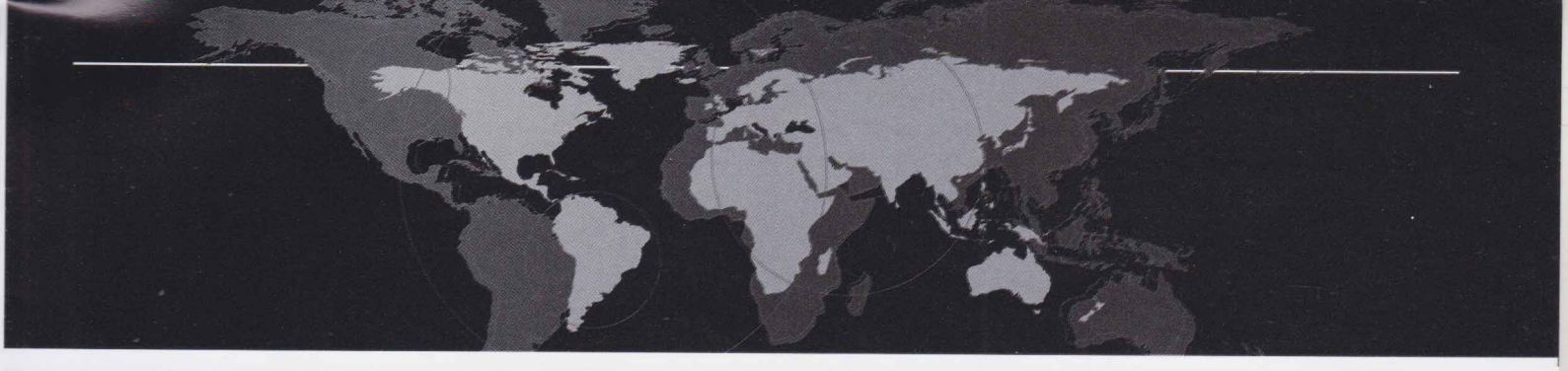
What's true inside the Beltway and on the border is also true on the ground in the rest of the country. Overall, the number of state and local anti-immigrant organisations has also fallen decidedly in the last two years. The Southern Poverty Law Center's list of "nativist extremist groups" stood at a dismaying 320 in 2010. Our investigation of those same groups shows that the number of those still active in 2011 plummeted to 121, a 62% decline in the last year.

Yet, despite these hopeful data, nativist politics continues to dominate the discussion of immigration. At the federal level, any effort at comprehensive reform has been effectively stymied by enforcement-only nativist lobbying. Attacks on the 14th Amendment (which grants citizenship and the equal protection of the law to everyone born in the USA) continue. And there are high levels of raids and deportations by federal agents.

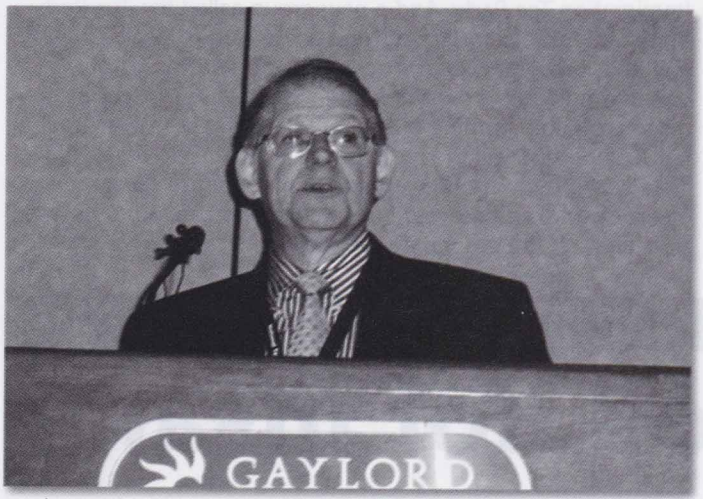
At the same time, passage of draconian legislation in Arizona, Georgia and Alabama has developed into a strategy known euphemistically as "enforcement through attrition", because it seeks to make life so horrible for immigrants that



Dan Stein of the anti-immigrant Federation for American Immigration Reform



-immigrant movement



NumbersUSA head Roy Beck at the Tea Party Nation Convention
Photo: D Burghart, IREHR

they will pack up and leave. It's not isolated to the South or Southwest, however. A recent study by the National Conference of State Legislators shows another record-breaking wave of anti-immigrant legislation in 2011. This year, 1,592 bills were introduced in the 50 states this year, with 151 laws enacted and 95 resolutions adopted in 40 states.

How is it possible for established anti-immigrant organisations to decline in number and for anti-immigration legislation and opinion to be so omnipresent? One reason: the Tea Party movement has energised anti-immigrant sentiment, "re-branding" nativist politics, broadening its reach and popularity.

Enter the Tea Party

In 2011, the Tea Party took up the anti-immigrant cause with a vengeance. Around the country, events were held in support of a harsh new anti-immigrant law in Alabama, and Tea Party groups are helping push similar legislation in dozens of states this year. In California, Tea Party groups launched a petition campaign for a ballot initiative to eliminate birthright citizenship. In Maryland, Tea Party groups helped lead a successful campaign to stop a law that would allow the children of undocumented immigrants to attend college. In Illinois, they also led the charge, but failed to enact similar legislation. In Texas, Tea Partiers are campaigning to end Sanctuary City policies. In Indiana, Tea Party groups are pushing for English-only legislation.

Tea Party groups often claim their mission is confined to "Fiscal Responsibility, Constitutionally Limited Government, and Free Markets". But the IREHR study contradicts the Tea Parties' self-invented myths and mantras. Instead, Tea Party ranks are permeated with concerns about race and national identity – particularly immigration.

The Tea Party pushes a brand of nationalism that defines immigrants, people of colour, poor people, liberals, trade union members, etc as wholly un-American parasites. Take, for instance, the so-called Birtherism so popular from the beginning with Tea Partiers. Birtherism is, at its core, an anti-immigrant attack, using racist imagery to depict president Obama as foreign, exotic, "not American". Birtherism is still alive among the local Tea Party ranks, and five of the six national Tea Party factions have had birthers on their national staffs. (four of them still do). Anti-immigrant Islamophobia has also taken root in the Tea Party, with all six national factions providing a platform to anti-Islam organisations.

Quietly, the Tea Parties have continued to expand in size and mission. As documented in *Tea Party Nationalism*, there are six different national Tea Party factions. The membership core has roughly doubled in size during the last year to over 350,000 members. A second layer of supporters (those who donate to a group, attend a rally, contribute to a candidate, etc) is estimated at 4-6 million. That's about twice the size of the anti-immigrant movement at its height. There are more than 3,000 local Tea Party groups active today, nearly ten times the number of local

Roundup

anti-immigrant groups.

Anti-immigrant sentiment has been at the core of the Tea Party movement from the beginning. Five of the six national factions have adopted anti-immigrant politics as part of their platform. One faction is even run by officers in the Minuteman Project. The gravitational force the five factions have exerted has pulled the sixth, FreedomWorks, towards a more "restrictionist" stance, particularly after some Tea Party groups attacked FreedomWorks chair Dick Armey as "soft on immigration".

Another reason for the decline in the number of local anti-immigrant group is that the Tea Party movement has swallowed up the established anti-immigrant organisations' energy and activists. The new IREHR study documents the many former local anti-immigrant group leaders now serving as Tea Party activists.

At the same time, Tea Parties were incorporating nativism into the movement's core messaging, almost from the start. As a result, anti-immigrant groups began moving towards the Tea Party. In the fall of 2009, for instance, ALI-PAC piggybacked onto Tea Party rallies across the country, holding "Tea Party Immigration" events in over 40 cities. Not to be outdone, NumbersUSA, one of the premier anti-immigrant organisations, hired an official Tea Party "Liaison" to interface with Tea Party leaders and speak about its cause at events. In California, a former FAIR staffer recently launched a project called the Immigration Tea Party. And a new group called the Tea Party Immigration Coalition has sprung up, featuring local Tea Party and anti-immigrant groups from nine different states.

Anti-immigrant groups are down, but not out. They're still responsible for churning out the new ideas, the studies, the legislation, the legal theories and many of the strategies that Tea Party groups are now appropriating. They'll still continue to play a role, and need to be watched and countered. But the new fight on the ground is with the Tea Party movement.

NORWAY

Breivik declared not insane

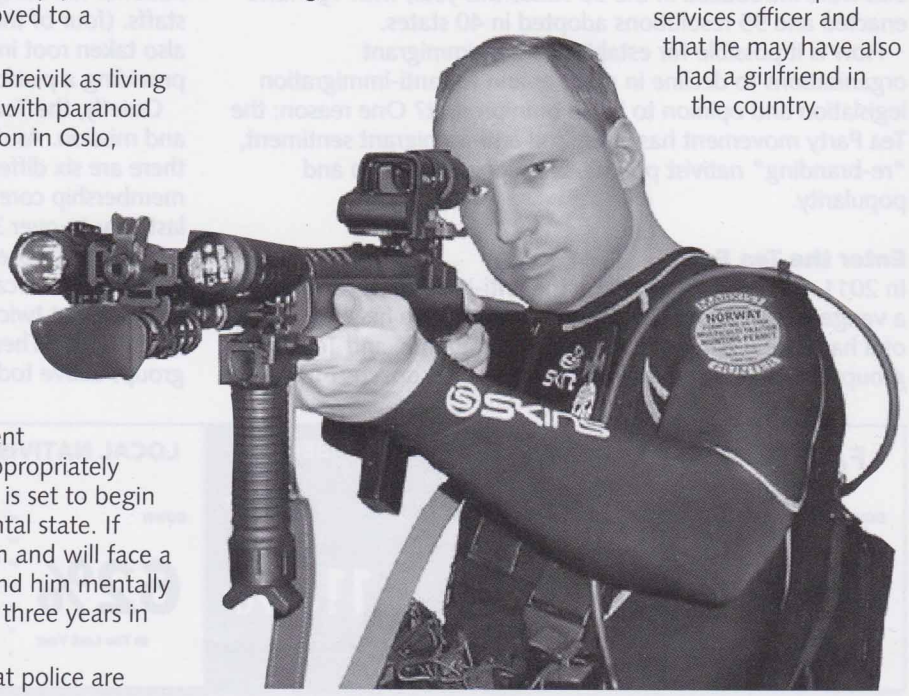
By **Laurence Elliott**

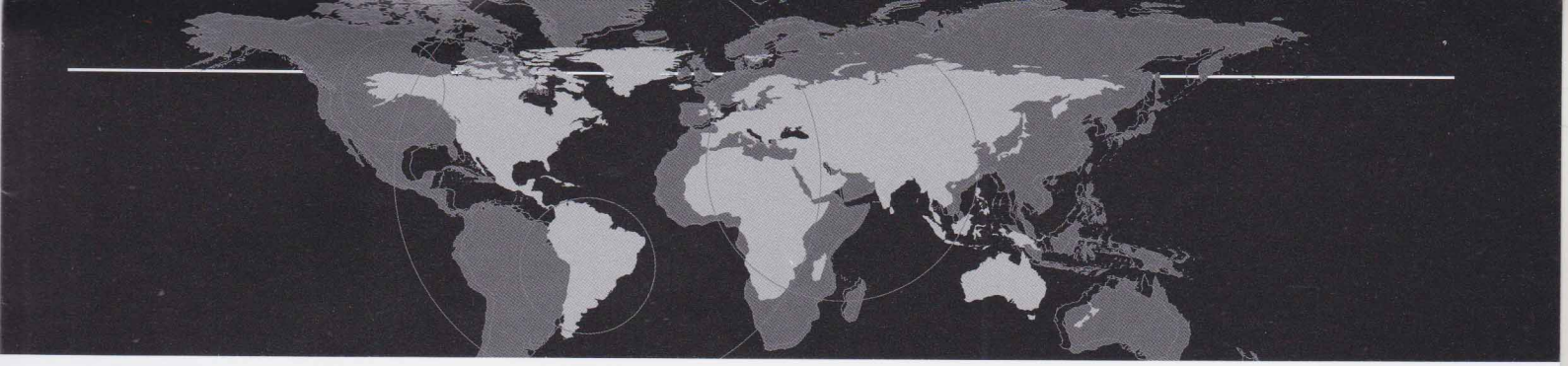
PRISON PSYCHIATRISTS in Norway have ruled that Anders Breivik, the far-right extremist responsible for the mass murders in July 2011, is not clinically insane. Contrary to earlier claims by court-appointed experts in November 2011, a team of prison psychiatrists determined that Breivik is not psychotic and does not need to be put on medication, or moved to a specialist facility.

In the original report psychiatrists described Breivik as living in a "delusional universe" and diagnosed him with paranoid schizophrenia. The four psychiatrists at Ila prison in Oslo, however, said they observed no kind of behaviour that would indicate he is psychotic. Families of the victims have demanded that Oslo District Court order a second evaluation, but prosecutor Svein Holden said in a letter to the court that he would not seek one. Instead, he says he would rather let the psychiatric experts testify at the forthcoming trial.

For many of the bereaved relatives, this recent finding gives some hope that Breivik will be appropriately punished for his horrific crime, as the trial that is set to begin in April will hinge on the evaluation of his mental state. If declared sane, he will be convicted of terrorism and will face a minimum of 21 years in prison. If the courts find him mentally unwell, however, he could be given as little as three years in psychiatric care.

Meanwhile, the Norwegian media report that police are investigating a possible connection in Belarus to the terror attacks. It was reported shortly after the attacks that Breivik may have undergone paramilitary training there, at a secret field camp in Minsk. Sources claim that he participated in "sabotage-terrorism-drills" under a former Belarusian special services officer and that he may have also had a girlfriend in the country.





HUNGARY

Far-right rally attracts unprecedented support

A RALLY OF THE far-right and viciously anti-Roma Jobbik party brought out thousands of people to protest against the European Union and call for Hungary's exit.

For the second biggest opposition party in the Hungarian parliament, the scale of this protest was unprecedented. The current conservative government, led by Prime Minister Viktor Orban, is now being urged to pursue a nationalist agenda at a time when he is already under intense pressure from the EU to backtrack over controversial legislation that has brought accusations of autocratic government.

Like numerous other EU countries facing insolvency and another recession this year, Hungary is seeking a deal from the EU and IMF but could lose funding entirely if Orban does not make budget deficit cuts sustainable.

José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, announced on 17 January that the EU is taking the radical step of pursuing legal action against Hungary on three issues that have caused concern in the EU: threats to the independence of the central bank, forced retirement of judges at the age of 62 and threats to the independence of the data protection authority. Hungary has a month to reverse the reforms or face action in the European Court of Justice. As a result Orban has adopted a more conciliatory tone over the independence of the central bank, but is resisting change over the retirement age of the judiciary, claiming that it does not threaten judicial independence. This will no doubt stimulate a further response from the Hungarian far right and put even greater pressure on Orban to resist EU directives.

While addressing the 2,000-strong crowd in front of the European Commission offices in Budapest, Jobbik MEP Csanad Szegedi said: "this week the EU declared war on Hungary in a very harsh and open way". Two Jobbik MPs, one the deputy leader, went on to set an EU flag on fire and could face charges of vandalism. Leader Gabor Vona called for a referendum on the EU and said that the EC's requests to amend Hungary's laws violated the country's independence. Speaking of the Commission's President, he said "If Barroso sets foot in here we will chase him out with a whip".

Jobbik MPs burn the EU flag in front of EU offices in Budapest

Supporters of the nationalist Jobbik are urging the Hungarian government not to bow to outside pressure, some of which is also coming from the US, which has expressed concern over the democratic freedoms that Orban's new laws are jeopardising.

While Jobbik is certainly well placed strategically to exploit this populist anti-EU sentiment, polling by IPSOS gives it a meagre 8% and puts voter apathy at well over 50%. The far right in Hungary is also incredibly fractured and disunited. Jobbik's main competitor in Hungarian politics, for example, the Justice and Life Party, actually came out in support of Orban's government on the same day as the Jobbik rally. Vona and the rest of his racist politicians may well have far to go before they can enjoy the kind of success that their counterparts elsewhere in Europe have already experienced. The next election is expected in 2014.

Roundup

ITALY

A dangerous nostalgia

By **Alfio Bernabei**

THE CULTURAL RENEWAL that is needed to reverse the process of historical revisionism pursued by Silvio Berlusconi's governments, which made neofascism more popularly acceptable, is unlikely to happen under the technocrats who have taken over to steer the country through the economic emergency.

Unelected, the technocrats do not express a people's choice; they have no mandate to bring about changes in the cultural and political direction, or tackle educational imperatives.

The dozens of neo-nazi groups will not be disturbed by the technocrats. On the contrary, such groups will draw encouragement from the fact that no popular rejection or uprising ousted the fascist-friendly Berlusconi. Moreover, in their interpretation of events, they now claim that Mario Monti's government has come about because "usurers" imposed their conditions from abroad, transforming Italy into a "Goldman Sachs" colony, as Forza Nuova highlights in its posters, with obvious targets in sight.

In practice, Berlusconi has gone, but "Berlusconismo", buttressed by racist and fascist sentiments, remains intact as part of a historical continuum. The many observers outside Italy who referred to a Mussolini-Berlusconi link were not too wide of the mark. The trail is clear. The failure to purge the nazifascists from the political system after 1945, followed by their employment as terrorists in the anti-Communist hidden war partly led by the P2 Masonic Lodge of which Berlusconi was a member, leading up to the past 17 years in which racist and neo-nazi sentiments have been absorbed by a section of the population into some sort of national habit, provide a deeply worrying sense of continuity.

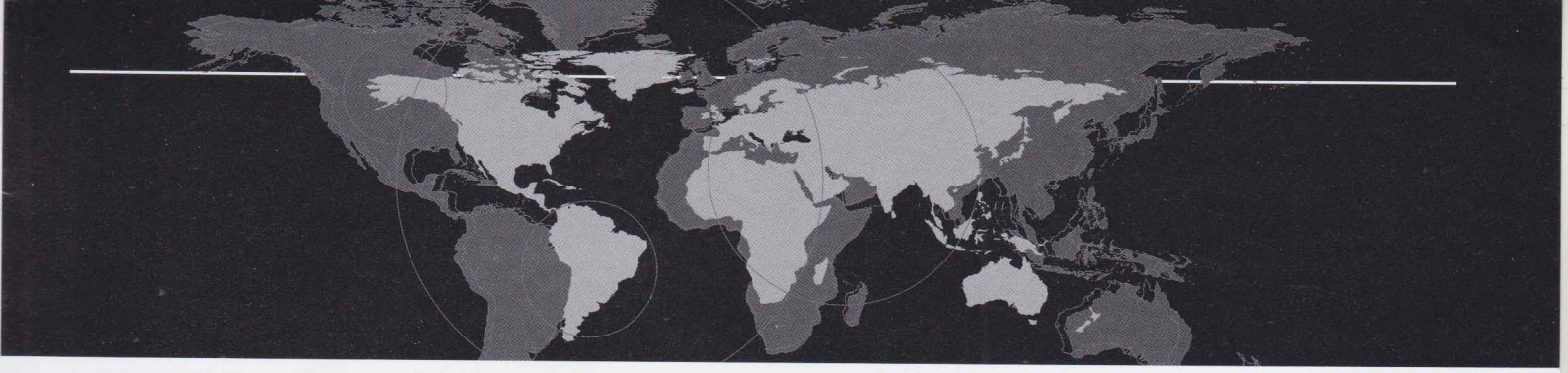
Some of the components of the acceptable "popular" nazifascism grown under Berlusconi can be easily identified. One is the physical presence of far-right parties and the network of movements operating under the guise of social centres and youth clubs associated with sports and music, led by people with international contacts and aspirations. The other involves culture and the media. Dramatic alterations in the use of language have caused a serious erosion of the significance of antifascist values, and created a mental distancing from the actual historical facts. Here are a few examples. The Italian nazifascist criminals of Mussolini's Salò Republic controlled by Adolf Hitler are all too often described as "the Salò boys", almost an endearing term; newspapers regularly refer to the nazifascist salute as the "Roman salute", a term more likely to evoke ancient glories of the Empire than the gas chambers; the media, again, have coined the term "nostalgici" (the nostalgics) to describe nazifascists, as if they were addressing some errant sentimentalists seeking comfort in a return to lost homes in the tradition of some poetry. How romantic.

Silvio Berlusconi who said recently that he has been reading Mussolini's diaries and the letters from his lover Claretta Petacci and sees himself in those letters

Cynically, perhaps, one could say that cheating with language is part of a wider problem in a culture driven to subterfuge out of shame about the stark reality of its humiliating condition, be it the influence of a criminal organisation festering in the financial and political structures, or the acceptance of the Catholic Church as a moral guide while pretending to ignore the financial and moral scandals and sexual crimes in which it is engulfed. However, when the cheating involves the obfuscation of the continuing presence of deeply entrenched fascism in a country that first produced it and then played a leading role in the events leading up to the catastrophe of the Second World War, the reasons to be alarmed clearly stretch well beyond its borders. A new Berlusconi-Mussolini may emerge at any time through elections nourished by a culture that has become almost completely devoid of anti-nazifascist vigilance.

The opposition parties do not offer much hope in this respect. In the 17 years of Berlusconismo the centre-left twice had the opportunity to stem the advance of neofascism. This happened when it won elections in 1996 and 2006, leading to a total of four years in government. It failed to act. Now, with the agenda so heavily dominated by the economy and the survival of the euro, who will dare to fight an electoral battle, probably in 2013, giving due prominence to a cultural renewal of antifascist values without being accused of wasting time on niceties?

Meanwhile, the emerging notion that Italy has been invaded by "usurers" and "foreign forces", in addition to what is perceived as the Islamic threat, may further reinforce xenophobic, racist and nationalist feelings. In this context a new Berlusconi-Mussolini in a designer suit may simply be waiting in the wings.



FRANCE

Credit rating downgrade may benefit Le Pen

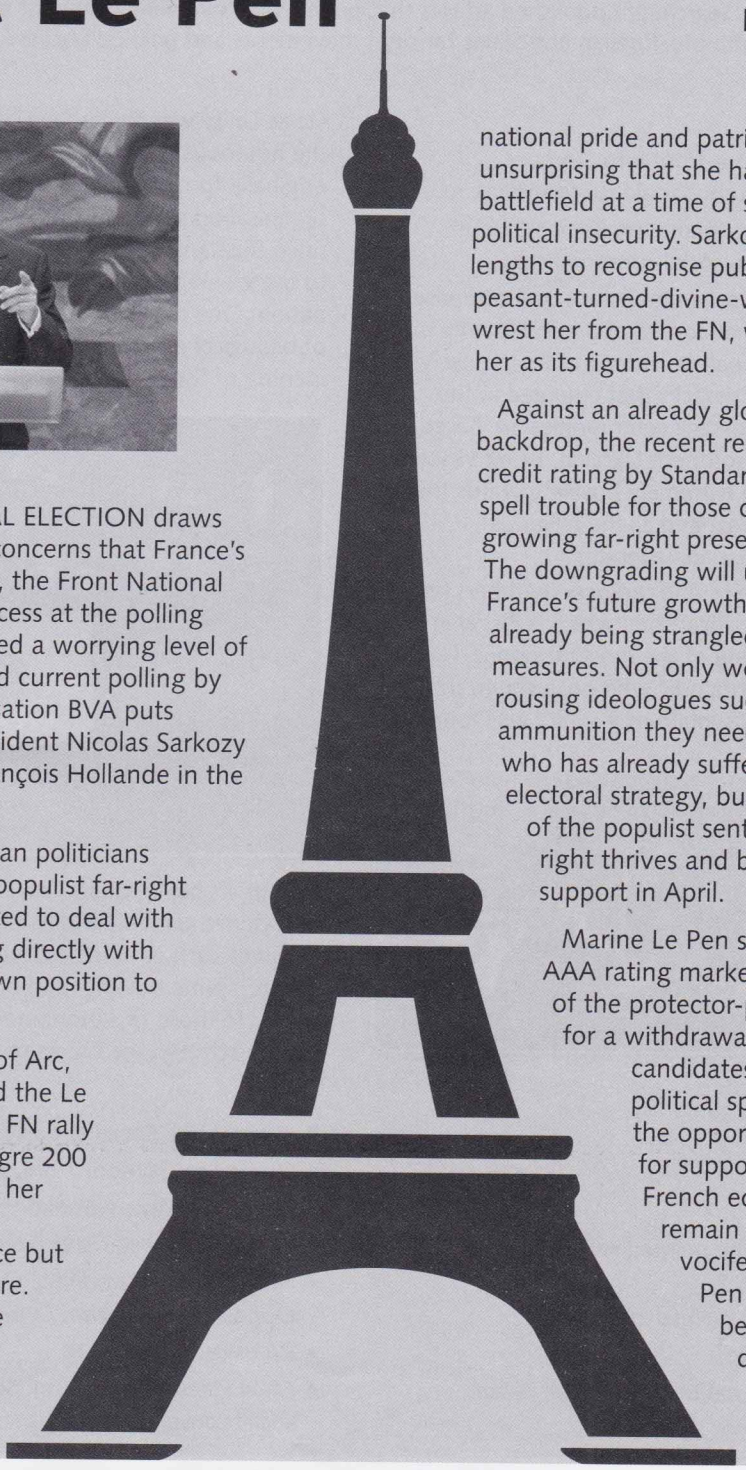
By **Laurence Elliott**

Facing trouble: President Sarkozy

AS FRANCE'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION draws closer, there are increasing concerns that France's most popular far-right party, the Front National (FN), will see significant success at the polling booths. It has already enjoyed a worrying level of support at the local level and current polling by the opinion research organisation BVA puts Marine Le Pen at 17%, President Nicolas Sarkozy at 24% and the Socialist François Hollande in the lead with 28%.

Unlike many other European politicians facing a similar threat from populist far-right parties, Sarkozy has attempted to deal with the FN head on by engaging directly with its politics and shifting his own position to the right.

His recent tribute to Joan of Arc, however, seems to have riled the Le Pen family somewhat. At an FN rally in Paris that attracted a meagre 200 people, Marine Le Pen, with her father Jean-Marie, said she welcomed Sarkozy's reference but implied he was being insincere. Given that Joan of Arc is one of the ultimate symbols of national pride and patriotism in France, it is unsurprising that she has entered the electoral battlefield at a time of such economic and political insecurity. Sarkozy has gone to great lengths to recognise publicly the 15th century peasant-turned-divine-warrior in an effort to wrest her from the FN, which has appropriated her as its figurehead.



Against an already gloomy economic backdrop, the recent removal of France's AAA credit rating by Standard and Poors could also spell trouble for those concerned about the growing far-right presence in French politics. The downgrading will ultimately hinder France's future growth prospects, which are already being strangled by forced austerity measures. Not only would this give rabble rousing ideologues such as Le Pen the ammunition they need to displace Sarkozy, who has already suffered a serious blow to his electoral strategy, but it could help fuel some of the populist sentiment on which the far right thrives and boost the FN's electoral support in April.

Marine Le Pen said that the loss of the AAA rating marked the "end of the myth of the protector-president" and called for a withdrawal from the euro. Rival candidates from across the political spectrum have also taken the opportunity to attack Sarkozy for supposedly mismanaging the French economy, but analysts remain concerned that the vociferously anti-euro Le Pen is likely to be the main beneficiary from France's demotion.

UKRAINE

State of the far right in Ukraine (part 3)

By **Anton Shekhovtsov**

IN THE TWO LAST ISSUES, *Searchlight* published articles that provided an overview of the far right in contemporary Ukraine. This month's article deals with pro-Russian and Slavic far-right movements and political parties.

1. Pro-Russian Cossacks

- Websites: novoross.info, yug-front.info, vernoe-kazachestvo.org.ua, sevastopolkazaki.ru, feo-kazak.ru.
- Main ideas: Russian ethnic ultranationalism, religious nationalism, paramilitarism, social conservatism.

Pro-Russian Cossacks are a social movement that comprises a plethora of small groups that consist of predominantly male Russian Orthodox ultranationalists who consider themselves successors of the historical Cossacks that emerged in the 14th century. Pro-Russian Cossack communities are based primarily in the Crimea and southern Ukraine. Being viciously anti-Ukrainian, they are also extremely hostile towards the Crimean Tatars, Jews, the West and all the religious communities that are not Russian Orthodox.

Many of the Cossack chieftains and ordinary members hold both Ukrainian and Russian citizenship, which is illegal in Ukraine. In summer 2010, one of the most notorious Cossack chieftains, Vitaliy Khramov, who once stated that tolerance towards others is "syphilis of a soul", was found guilty of hate speech and illegal acquisition of Ukrainian citizenship, and was deported to the Russia Federation. At the moment, the Cossacks, as a whole, are the most violent Pro-Russian nationalist movement in Ukraine.

2. Slavic Unity

- Formed in 2008.
- Leader: Dmitry Odinov.
- Symbol: a black Slavic eight-pointed swastika in a golden circle.
- Newspaper: *Russkiy Obraz* (Russian Mode).
- Website: slav-edinstvo.info.
- Main ideas: pan-Slavism, national socialism, racism, straight edge.

Slavic Unity was formed in Odessa as a Ukrainian branch of the notorious antisemitic paramilitary Russian National Unity, originally formed in the Russian Federation in 1990. The organisation strives for the creation of a state that would unite Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians, who, according to the ideologists of the organisation, comprise the Russian nation. One of the main goals of Slavic Unity is the "revival of biological quality and defence of cultural and genetic identity of the Russian Nation".

Despite its background, Slavic Unity has almost completely abandoned paramilitarism, and focused on non-violent activities such as marches, organising social and cultural events, sports training, and drawing straight-edge graffiti similar to those of Autonomous Resistance. Slavic Unity is mostly active in the Odessa region and the Crimea.

3. Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine (PSPU)

- Formed on 20 April 1996, registered on 9 July 1996.
- Leader: Natalya Vitrenko (b. 1951).
- Symbol: a red star and a red rose in a blue circle.
- Newspapers: *Narodnaya Oppozitsiya* (People's Opposition), *Dosvitni Ohni* (Predawn Lights).
- Website: vitrenko.org.
- Main ideas: pan-Slavism, Soviet nationalism, social conservatism.

Due to its socialist economic position and glorification of the Soviet Union, the PSPU is usually considered a left-wing party, but politically it is clearly radical right-wing. The PSPU is fervently anti-Western and Stalinist. It opposes Ukraine's relationships with the EU, Nato and the USA, while supporting the idea of a political union of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus.

The party maintains contacts with the neo-Eurasianist movement of Russian fascist Aleksandr Dugin and the Russian far-right organisation People's Will, as well as with the Serbian Radical Party and the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party. Although the PSPU's heyday has now passed, it still has 38 representatives in regional and city councils in southern Ukraine.

4. Social-Patriotic Assembly of Slavs (SPAS)

- Formed in 2005, registered on 14 February 2006.
- Leader: Eduard Kovalenko (b. 1965).
- Symbol: a yellow stylised swastika in the blue circle.
- Website: spas-edko.org.ua.
- Main ideas: Slavic ultranationalism, national socialism.

Eduard Kovalenko is a former leader of the Ukrainian National Alliance – Ukrainian National Self-Defence (UNA-UNSO). In 2005, he was jailed for several months for the organisation of mass riots, and during his imprisonment was dismissed from his leading position in the UNA-UNSO. Another leader of SPAS is Oles Vakhniy, a former activist of the Social-National Party of Ukraine (1995-1998) who was jailed for five years for the demolition of an office of the civic organisation Committee of Voters of Ukraine.

SPAS objects to "the stranglehold of foreign culture" and aims to create "the Sacred Slavic Union" which would include Slavic countries and have its centre in Ukraine's capital Kyiv. SPAS's website gives links to a number of European far-right parties including the British National Party. The party is particularly active in the Crimea, and is very hostile towards the Crimean Tatars.

5. Motherland

- Formed in 2008, registered on 14 December 2009.
- Leader: Ihor Markov (b. 1973).
- Newspaper: *Za Rodinu!* (For Motherland!).
- Website: rodina.od.ua.
- Main ideas: Russian ultranationalism.

Motherland was formed on the basis of the petty Progressive-Democratic Party of Ukraine. Its leader, Ihor Markov, is widely believed to be a former crime boss under the nickname "Maradona". Although Motherland rarely articulates extremist views publicly, its activists, including Markov himself, took part in the violent attack on a peaceful protest against the erection of a monument to the Russian Empress Catherine II, who remains a highly controversial historical figure in Ukraine. Markov was arrested after the attack but the charges were dropped later.

Motherland was also behind the violent clashes between pro-Russian and Ukrainian ultranationalists on Victory Day on 9 May 2011 in L'viv. The party is virulently anti-Ukrainian and anti-American, and supports the creation of a political union of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan. Today, 36 members of Motherland are members of regional and city councils. It is active in the Odessa region and the Crimea.

Readers' action

Jacques Vergès visit provokes condemnation

By **Adam Carter**

The news, exclusively revealed by *Searchlight*, that the School of Oriental and African Studies, part of the University of London, had issued an invitation to Jacques Vergès, "the Devil's advocate", to speak at a discussion on international justice in February, has prompted condemnation from several prominent politicians. As *Searchlight* revealed in telling detail, Vergès is a professional sensationalist who has made a legal career out of consorting with and defending Nazis, antisemites and terrorists.

Searchlight's editor Gerry Gable stated that "the magazine has been investigating Mr Vergès since October. His role goes well beyond the legal representation needed to ensure his criminal clients get a fair trial. It is possible for the Home Office to ban EU citizens if their presence is not conducive to the public good. We think that applies to Jacques Vergès."

The fact that Vergès will be speaking shortly after Holocaust Memorial Day has only increased the sense of outrage. According to the *Jewish Chronicle*, Finchley and Golders Green MP Mike Freer, vice-chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism, said that he hoped to raise the visit of the French-Vietnamese lawyer Jacques Vergès with Home Secretary Theresa May.

Denis MacShane MP, chair of the European Institute for Study of Antisemitism, said "Jacques Vergès is an ageing sensationalist who has links with some of the most repellent ideas and individuals on the far right, who have sought and seek to justify, excuse or avoid retribution for evil acts. It is sad that SOAS should be lending its name to this stunt merchant, who no longer gets the publicity he craves in France but has found some useless idiots at London University – again! – to promote his noxious narratives."

Others are adding their voices to the campaign. A spokesperson for the Community Security Trust, which represents and advises the Jewish community on security and antisemitism, said: "It is hard to see how Jacques Vergès's record of defending Nazis, Holocaust deniers, mass murderers and terrorists can contribute anything worthwhile to a debate on international justice. This invitation smacks of the kind of attention-seeking sensationalism that can only damage the reputation of an institution like SOAS."

And Karen Pollock OBE, Chief Executive, Holocaust Educational Trust told Searchlight: "It seems perverse that any prestigious institution would welcome Jacques Vergès, a notorious figure, who over the decades has defended Nazi war criminals and Holocaust deniers with apparent relish – and whose extremely controversial views would surely undermine any serious academic debate."

Colin Shindler, Professor of Israeli Studies at SOAS, told *Searchlight*: "I am very aware of Vergès's statements in the public arena over the last thirty years. I have made my views known privately. I doubt whether Vergès will have any support for his views whatsoever within the realm of academic discourse in the seminar room from the assembled audience of legal experts.

"I am very disappointed that no statement has been made by the SOAS lecturers' union as well as by the students' union. While they have always been quick to react to events in the Middle East, their silence on this occasion has been deafening."

Robert Murtfeld, the PhD student who organised the event at SOAS, has defended his decision to invite Vergès, telling the *Jewish Chronicle* that "Jacques Vergès has been invited as a main speaker with Professor Koskenniemi, a Finnish diplomat for more than 20 years. In his 2002 paper 'Between Impunity and Show Trials', Professor Koskenniemi analyses critically Vergès's involvement in the Barbie case." When the story was picked up by the Evening Standard, Murtfeld added that "the content of the discussion will address issues surrounding the cases against Saif Gaddafi and Laurent Gbagbo, not Klaus Barbie and Roger Garaudy, and will be concerned with the prosecutorial efforts initiated by the International Criminal Court. All panellists will critically reflect on the issues discussed."

To date the authorities at SOAS have refused to comment other than to insist to the *Evening Standard* that the event was being organised by the student and not by the college.

Readers who want to protest about Vergès's visit should contact Theresa May MP, the Home Secretary, and James Brokenshire MP, the parliamentary under secretary of state responsible for crime and security, at:

Readers who want to protest about this man's visit should contact Theresa May MP, the Home Secretary, and James Brokenshire MP, the parliamentary under secretary of state responsible for crime and security, at:

The Home Office, 2 Marsham Street, London SW1P 4DF.
Tel: 020 7035 4848 **Email:** public.enquiries@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk; james.brokenshire.mp@parliament.uk

You can also contact Professor Paul Webley, director of SOAS, to express your shock at the invitation to Vergès, at:

School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG
Tel: 020 7898 4014 **Email:** pw2@soas.ac.uk

Naturally we ask you to express your views politely.

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In the front line against racism and fascism

Searchlight was founded in May 1964 as an intelligence-led newspaper and press agency. It is Searchlight's strength and experience at gathering and analysing intelligence that has ensured its leading role in effectively fighting fascism and organised racism for nearly 50 years.

Its investigations of far-right extremism in Britain and abroad have resulted in dozens of convictions, notably the synagogue arsonists' gang led by Colin Jordan, the British nazi godfather, Jordan himself for numerous charges and John Tyndall, founder of the British National Party, for firearms offences.

Searchlight halted the plans to bomb the Notting Hill Carnival in the early 1980s in the wake of an international terrorism trial that encompassed Paris, Munich and Bologna.

Dozens of smaller investigations by Searchlight helped put many right-wing extremists in prison.

In spring 2011 Searchlight published a report commissioned by a minister in the outgoing Labour Government which investigated the issue of far-right "lone wolf" terrorism in the UK. It analysed nearly 40 cases of people who committed, prepared for or encouraged acts of terrorism, including many that Searchlight had helped expose, and concluded that far-right terrorists are not lone wolves but are connected with far-right networks that espouse a violent racist and fascist ideology.

In October Gerry Gable returned to the job of editor, supported by Sonia Gable, whose investigation, analysis and exposure of the BNP's financial irregularities contributed to the collapse of the BNP's voting and activist support. Both work unpaid.

Over many years, Searchlight has helped make many of the better documentary programmes investigating the far right in Britain.

Today the magazine is run by a dedicated international team of investigators, writers, researchers and young academics.

Searchlight has received support from people across the political spectrum, religious leaders, trade unionists, professionals, academics, and people from business, sport and culture, including some of Britain's best postwar playwrights and film-makers.

Although the BNP is currently not an electoral threat, other extreme-right parties are vying to take its place and populist radicalism and Islamophobia are rising across Europe and further afield. This fluid situation makes it even more urgent that we turn our intelligence and analysis capabilities into a powerful weapon against those who aim to kill off our democratic and just society.

To do that we need your support. Subscriptions to the magazine are not enough to keep the magazine – an important forum and focus of our intelligence work – in production as well as maintain our intelligence operation. We therefore hope our supporters will donate as much as they can to support Searchlight's ongoing and necessary work. All money raised from this appeal will go towards investigating and exposing Britain's fascists and racists.

You can give in two ways:

- Using the donate button on our website, www.searchlightmagazine.com
- Sending a cheque, payable to Searchlight, to Searchlight magazine, PO Box 1576, Ilford IG5 0HE

Thank you from the Searchlight team.

"I have read Searchlight for the past 24 years. I find its illumination of the issues essential to my work as an MEP."
Glenys Kinnock, Baroness Kinnock of Holyhead (MEP 1994-2009)

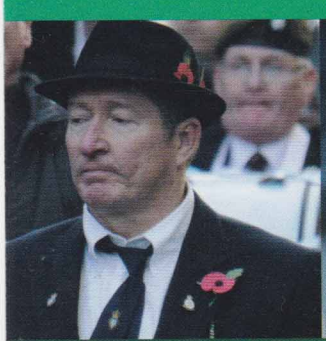
"Searchlight has done an enormously important job for the anti-racist and anti-fascist movement over a great many years. Trade unions must be in the forefront of facing the challenge."
Brendan Barber, TUC General Secretary

"Everyone who wants to understand contemporary racism and its historical background needs to read Searchlight."
Professor Colin Holmes, University of Sheffield

"I have always taken huge inspiration from your unrivalled commitment and track record in the fight against fascism."
Jeremy Newmark, Chief Executive, Jewish Leadership Council

"Your vision and courage in identifying the threat posed by extremism and your efforts over the decades to combat it are of profound importance."
Karen Pollock, Chief Executive, Holocaust Educational Trust

Enemies old and new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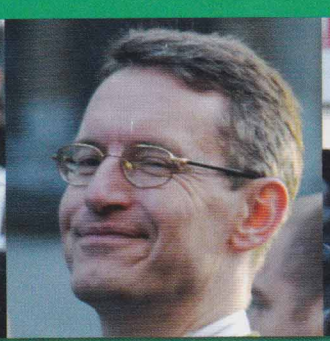
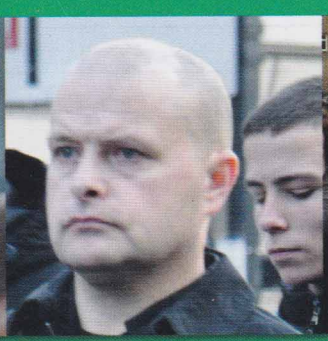
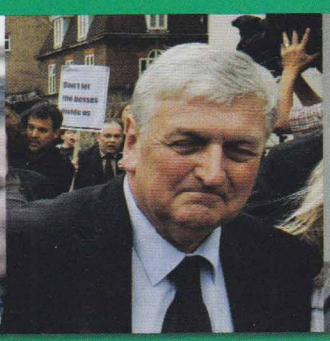

Jez Bedford-Turner


Mark Atkinson


Andrew Brons

Michèle Renouf

ne presence: to Barking

CONFUSION AND INADEQUATE planning on all sides marked the English Defence League's march in Barking, east London, on 14 January.

The police were expecting no more than 150 people, saying that the EDL had issued a London-only callout, and that they had a strategic plan that would prevent any serious trouble.

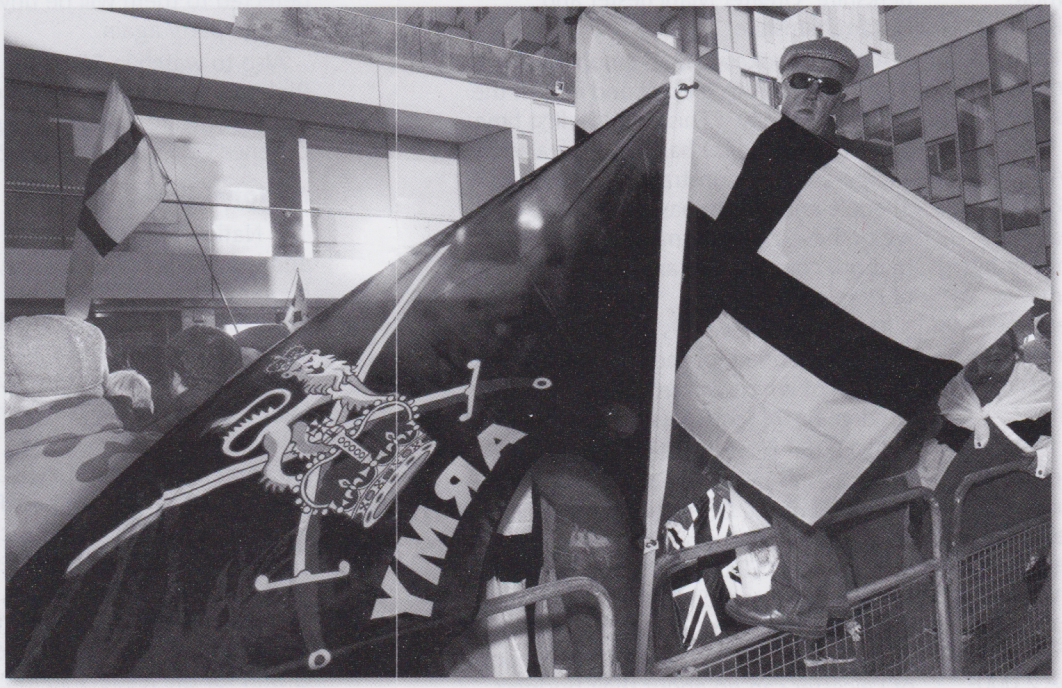
Unite Against Fascism (UAF) announced a counter-protest at only very short notice and changed arrangements three times in 30 Only about 50 people turned u or 40 according to UAF organis Weyman Bennett – claiming th wanted to avoid confrontation.

The Hope Not Hate campaig which rightly targeted Barking Dagenham as a key area in def the British National Party at the box and is still working in the borough, did not call for oppos but its website carried a report photographs from

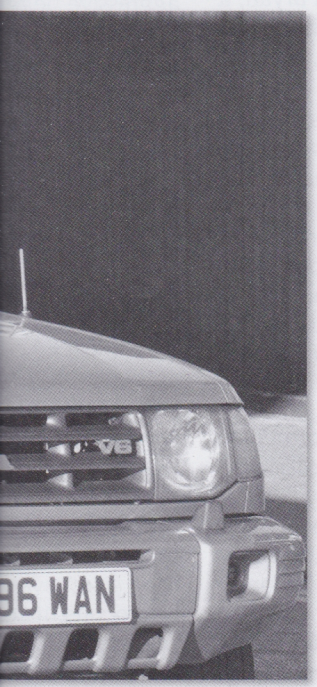
Searchlight's exp eyewitnesses estim independently of e other that there w around 200 on the march. Several had from East Anglia a some from further Strangely the polic UAF and even the itself claimed numb were 100 or lower

The reason for discrepancy may b timing. At some p the afternoon arou the EDL supporters a train from Barkin Whitechapel, unhi by the police, who appeared to have inadequate intelli

Soldier or poser?



Dishonouring the Army *Photo: David Hoffman*



EDL equipment carrier

Why so shy?

Old enough to know bett